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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ALLEGED

Book Review

PM041257 Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 84 p 3

[Book review by Professor A. Piradov: "Anatomy of Lawlessness"--reviewing "U.S. Violations of International Legal Norms" (Narusheniya SSHA Norm Mezhdunarodnogo Prava), by M.M. Avakov, YU.M. Melnikov, YU.M. Rybakov, and others, Moscow, International Relations Publishing House, 1984]

[Text] In conditions where U.S. imperialism has set a course of spurring on the arms race and exacerbating international tension, an immeasurable increase is taking place in the role and significance of modern international law, which is intended to govern relations among states with a view to developing equal, mutually advantageous cooperation among them and strengthening international peace and security.

The White House administration, which lays claim to the role of ruler of the people's destinies and pursues a policy of diktat and violence, sees international law as a major obstacle to its aggressive imperialist course. Seeking to "surmount" this obstacle, official Washington tries to distort the true meaning and content of the fundamental principles and norms of modern international law and substitute arbitrary rule and violence for the law and order which has become established in the world.

The exposure of the White House administration's aggressive, hegemonist course, its crude violations of the most important principles and norms of modern international law, which are enshrined, in particular, in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, and also the U.S. violations of commitments under bilateral and multilateral agreements is the subject of the book "U.S. Violations of International Legal Norms" which has just been published at the International Relations Publishing House (chief editor Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor M. Avakov).

There is no doubt of the topicality of this study, since the reactionary U.S. foreign policy course is characterized by clearly expressed nihilism in relation to international law and the refusal to reckon with the legitimate interests of other states and peoples, big or small. In recent years many instances have been recorded of frank refusals by Washington to fulfill its

commitments. At the same time the United States is resorting--not for the first time--to downright political forgery, trying to accuse the Soviet Union of violating its own commitments. The TASS statement of 21 October 1984 enumerates the most important agreements in the arms limitation and reduction sphere which are violated by the United States, while the United States seeks to shift the blame for wrecking these agreements onto the USSR. In this connection the TASS statement stresses that "while the USSR strictly and unswervingly fulfills the treaties and agreements concluded, practical actions have been and are being undertaken by the United States with the aim of bypassing and directly violating international commitments and disrupting normal relations between states."

Alongside the violation of existing accords, the United States hinders the adoption of agreement on banning the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on destroying them; on a general and complete end to nuclear weapons tests; on limiting nuclear arms in Europe; and on banning the militarization of outer space. By blocking the attainment of accords on these and other key problems, the United States would like to secure a "free hand" for itself to step up its efforts in the arms race, which is aimed, in particular, at achieving military superiority over the USSR, exhausting our economy, and gaining domination of the world.

At all stages of the evolution of U.S. foreign policy, a trend has been clearly discernible for the law to be used to justify lawlessness and interference in other states' internal affairs, a trend for the creation of a kind of new, American international law to give the semblance of legality to illegal acts and military adventures.

This concept does not even suit the Americans themselves. A recently published book by Democratic Senator P. Moynihan entitled "Loyalty to Agreements" contains an appeal to the American administration to observe the basic principles of modern international law, in particular the UN Charter, in its foreign policy. The White House's arrogant attitude toward the United Nations and its charter, the author notes, is contrary to the "American concept of the international rule of law."

This trend can be discerned especially clearly in the U.S. Administration's Latin America policy. Having perpetrated the act of aggression against Grenada in October 1983--which was, incidentally, the 136th open armed intervention by the United States in Latin America in the last 100 years--official Washington tried to justify this criminal act in terms of an appeal by the Organization of East Caribbean States to the United States for "assistance" against the "Grenadian threat," as well as in terms of the need to "protect" American citizens in Grenada. Other international-legal "arguments" were also put forward, as is well known.

The current preparations by the White House administration for aggression against Nicaragua are clearly following the scenario which was tried out in Grenada. Washington does not shrink from any dubious methods, as is indicated by the "manual" which the CIA compiled and sent to the counterrevolutionary

gangs which are sent into Nicaraguan territory, instructing them to engage in political murders and terror. The case of the instructors is another clear confirmation that it is the American administration which inspires the policy of state terrorism.

The numerous aggressive wars which U.S. imperialism has unleashed, whether in Vietnam or Grenada, have always been accompanied by flagrant violations of international legal norms; the peaceful population has been the victim of these wars as a consequence of the aggressor's use of barbarous means of conducting hostilities, and civilian targets have been subjected to massive destruction.

The book demonstrates the obstructionist U.S. policy in relation to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea adopted in 1982 and exposes U.S. violations of international legal norms on the immunity of states, the principles of respect for states' sovereignty, conscientious observance of international commitments, cooperation in the sphere of the international use of the mass information media, and so forth.

The publication of this collective monograph will undoubtedly help a wide range of readers to gain a still deeper understanding of the true nature of the present-day U.S. foreign policy course pursued by the most reactionary circle of American imperialism. A course which runs counter to the vital interests of the vast majority of states, which advocate that international relations be based on law, not tyranny. The Soviet Union has done and will do all in its power to improve the political climate on the planet.

Article by Jurist

PM311433 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by candidate of Juridical Sciences Reyn Myullerson, member of the Soviet Association for International Law: "Do Laws Exist for Washington?"]

[Text] The contrast between the requirements of international law and Washington's course in the international arena has, perhaps, never been so striking. Attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable, the White House is distorting international law itself beyond all recognition.

Modern principles and norms of interstate relations unambiguously condemn the policy of force, the threat of force, and interference in other states' internal affairs. Hence Washington's attempts to amend these norms and pass off as international law the U.S. Administration's unilateral decisions.

When, after the CIA piratical operation involving the mining of Nicaraguan ports, Nicaragua appealed to the UN International Court of Justice in The Hague accusing the United States of "recruiting, training, supplying, financing, supporting, and aiding military and paramilitary actions against Nicaragua and guiding these actions," the United States announced its rejection of the International Court's jurisdiction 3 days before the complaint was

filed. In this matter, official Washington referred to the peaceful settlement plan put forward by the "Contadora Group" states. The U.S. ambassador in the Netherlands declared that the Contadora scheme "enjoys the firm support of the United States and is the most suitable means for solving problems in accordance with the UN and OAS Charters, with a view to establishing lasting peace in the region. The United States is concerned that the legal procedures instituted by Nicaragua may obstruct this multilateral process."

Nevertheless, Nicaragua had only to announce its agreement to the "Act of Peace" proposed by the "Contadora Group" for Washington and its puppets in Central America to immediately reject it.

Despite all the White House's subterfuges, the court in The Hague unanimously ruled that "the United States must immediately cease all actions restricting, blocking, or endangering routes into Nicaragua's ports, and refrain from any similar acts in the future."

The U.S. international law doctrine attempts to justify the U.S. Administration's actions. For example, S. Schwebel, U.S. judge at the International Court of Justice, is trying to pin all the blame on the innocent party by attributing actions of which the Pentagon and the CIA have been found guilty to Nicaragua.

Being incapable of even verbally reconciling U.S. actions in Latin America with the requirements of international law, many Western observers say: "So much the worse for international law." TIME magazine quotes a statement by British jurist M. Green, who believes that "today's meaning of aggression is obsolete. The invasion of Grenada has created the need to redefine a number of terms in international law."

U.S. scientist J. Moore writes that the invasion of Grenada "corresponds with the requirement of lawful defense of one's citizens, humanitarian intervention (?!), and regional operations to maintain peace." He cites the occupation of the Dominican Republic by the United States as a valid precedent.

The desire to amend international law takes U.S. Professor (U. Reysman) as far as even suggesting the legalization of armed incursions for the purpose of establishing a "democratic" regime. He means, of course, U.S.-style "democracy," as in Chile and El Salvador. Columbia University Professor O. Schachter believes entirely reasonably that "such an approach would provide a new legal basis for war and for the almost totally unlimited right to overthrow governments which supposedly do not accord with the expressed will of the people."

Even U.S. jurists themselves, provided they have not descended to direct falsification or apology for any actions by the administration, are forced to perceive the totally unprovoked invasion of Grenada as a blatant violation of the principle of the nonuse of force.

For example, nine well known professors note in a letter to the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW that "during the 20th century the U.S.

Administration has simply made up alleged threats to the life and property of U.S. citizens as an excuse to justify armed intervention in states on the American Continent." These scientists are fully justified in fearing that "the illegality in international law of U.S. actions in Grenada could influence future U.S. foreign policy all over the world." "At present the Reagan administration is probably planning an identical fate for Nicaragua's Sandinist government," they suppose.

A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, described Washington's actions against Nicaragua as the waging of an undeclared war. This description of U.S. policy stems directly from the definition of aggression adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974. It is worth recalling that this definition perceives as actions constituting acts of aggression the "sending, by a state or on behalf of a state, of armed gangs, groups, irregular forces, or mercenaries who engage in acts involving the use of armed force against another state," as well as "the blockade of ports or coastline of a state by another state's armed forces." It is true that this latter form of aggression is usually described as "naval quarantine" in the United States, as if that changes the essence of this international crime.

Despite the claims by Western jurists, the definition of aggression is by no means obsolete. It accurately catalogues Washington's recent actions in Latin America.

CSO: 1807/222

INTERNATIONAL

CIA, ITALIAN AUTHORITIES SAID TO BACK RED BRIGADES

LD150954 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Moscow, January 15, TASS--"After a relative calm, both rightist, neo-fascist groups and the ultra leftist ones--'red brigades', have increased their activity again. Incidentally, the former differ from the latter by phraseology rather than by methods of actions," writes Gennady Zafesov, PRAVDA's Rome correspondent.

Today one can say with confidence, he points out that manifest in Italy is, like before, "the so-called 'strategy of tension'. Neither the much-publicized trials involving tens and even hundreds of defendants nor the fact that most of them have found themselves behind the bars have done any substantial damage to the forces which practise that 'strategy.' In brief, their aim boils down to undermining republican institutions and to swinging the country to the right. Terror is the method to attain that end."

One cannot but admit, the correspondent points out, that forces that stand behind the 'strategy of tension' are highly influential. Suffice it to say that scandalous connections between Italian secret services and the neo-fascists have come to light.

"Terrorists of every kind," Gennady Zafesov goes on, "enjoy the patronage not only of internal reactionaries fr the judicial apparatus and secret services. The most powerful patrons of terrorism in the Italian peninsula are thousands of miles away from it. Those include, first of all, the U.S. CIA."

"Thus," the correspondent states, "terrorists perpetrate their dark deeds. Secret services virtually connive at them. And above all that there is an ominous shadow of the CIA which does everything to create an atmosphere of political chaos, violence and fear in Italy because in such conditions it is easier to manipulate the country as it sees fit."

CSO: 1812/147

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. APOLOGIZES FOR RFE BROADCAST TO POLAND

LD181624 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 18 Jan 85

[Text] The United States State Department has apologized for a broadcast by Radio Free Europe to Poland, beamed earlier this month. Here are some details:

In response to a protest by the Polish Government, the State Department said on Wednesday it regretted the broadcast, which implied that Poland was similar to Nazi Germany. Radio Free Europe like Radio Liberty is now funded by the American Government. In fact they have been funded by it for several years. Before they were funded by the CIA and critics called Radio Free Europe and Liberty cold war relics. The stations' policy has not changed following the transfer; rather it was seen as a step to remove the CIA from the spot and make it look like the subversive station receiving a new lease of life.

But have they dropped insults and rudeness? Is there less bias or effort to split? Nothing of the kind. Radio Free Europe played a key role in enticing antigovernment feelings in Poland. It was said to have relayed coded instructions to the underground. Numerous protests by the Polish authorities have gone unanswered. Trust and sympathy are not won by subversion nor are understanding or friendly feelings promoted by malice. But cold war relics don't go on the air to promote all this. And former Nazi collaborators and turncoats are not recruited to establish any bridges of understanding. The role of such radio stations is to sow seeds of hatred and distrust.

The apology of the State Department for the Radio Free Europe broadcast on 5 January was offered because the station had overdone it. Instead of staying within certain limits of the ideological warfare against the socialist nations it came out with an insult of the country which has diplomatic relations with Washington. But the apology does not mean that this warfare will stop and that anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns will cease. True, words like crusades against socialism have been dropped, not crusades themselves.

CSO: 1812/146

INTERNATIONAL

EDITORIAL REVIEW LAUDS GROMYKO SPEECH COLLECTION

AU011245 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 27 Dec 84) pp 8-18

[Editorial: "The International Activities of the CPSU and Topical Problems of World Politics. (On the Publication of the Book by Comrade A. A. Gromyko 'Following the Leninist Course of Peace')"—words between slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The exacerbation of the international situation is causing serious alarm and concern among all peoples of the world. The United States and some of its NATO allies continue to whip up the arms race, striving to gain military superiority over the USSR and the other socialist states.

By fanning old conflicts, imperialism is creating new hotbeds of international tension. The increased threat of nuclear war with all its catastrophic consequences makes real practical measures in the sphere of freezing, limiting, and reducing nuclear arms particularly essential. Preventing a nuclear conflict is a task central to the Soviet Union's foreign policy. "Bridling the nuclear arms race is of key significance, of course, in ensuring peace and the people's security," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "The USSR's position in this matter is clear. We are against competition in building up nuclear arsenals. We have been and we remain advocates of banning and destroying all forms of these weapons."¹

Analyzing new phenomena in social life, generalizing accumulated experience, and developing theory in the spheres of ideology, the economy, international relations, and diplomacy are constantly at the center of the CPSU's attention. The book, recently published by Politizdat, entitled "Following the Leninist Course of Peace" and written by A. A. Gromyko, prominent party and state figure, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, is attracting the undoubted interest of the reading public.² It contains articles and speeches covering the period for the end of the seventies to the beginning of 1984. Peace has been, is, and will continue to be the foundation of the USSR's foreign policy and the ideal of socialism—such is the leitmotiv of the book.

The new work provides us with a panorama of the most topical problems of the contemporary era. The author sets an example of creatively, scientifically applying the Leninist theoretical legacy to contemporary international realities.

The pages of this book reflect the Leninist depth and consistency of the USSR's foreign policy course. The author is not only a major theoretician of international relations, but also an active figure in Soviet diplomacy who has worked tirelessly for 45 years in the sphere of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, skillfully defending peace, the interests of our motherland and real socialism, and the cause of freedom and independence for the people. There is perhaps no major foreign policy action which has been undertaken by the USSR during these years in which A. A. Gromyko has not participated and not made his own contribution, offered his own initiative.

The book centers its attention on the main aspects and problems of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy and of the multifaceted activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena during a period when imperialist reaction nurtures plans for another "crusade" against the USSR and the socialist community. The chief danger is posed by Western Europe's transformation into a launching pad for American missiles.

The responsibility for this, the author points out, not only rests with the American Administration, but also with the governments of those countries which, ignoring the will of their own peoples, have accepted the deployment of lethal weapons on their territories. "Those to whom the interests of peace are really dear," the author writes, "cannot limit themselves to merely stating the danger of nuclear war. It must be clearly pointed out from where precisely the threat emanates.

"Clarity in this matter is essential not only for the sake of historical correctness. The answer to the question: Can this disastrous process be brought to a halt and how can it be brought to a halt? It also depends on understanding what is the cause of mankind sliding toward the nuclear abyss."³

A. A. Gromyko's articles and speeches convincingly show two directions in policy and in the approach to the problem of nuclear weapons. The USSR is in favor of outlawing lethal, destructive weapons. And it is natural that, at the stage where international relations have entered a period of increasing dangers and complexities caused by the militarist policies of the most reactionary imperialist circles in the United States and NATO, the CPSU continues to follow a Leninist course of peace with even greater determination, while drawing attention to the seriousness of the present military-political situation.

The book thoroughly reveals the class nature of the international policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state, whose priority direction has been and continues to be that of strengthening relations between the USSR and fraternal socialist countries. The principle of socialist internationalism is the core of these relations, which are dynamically developing in all spheres. The socialist

community, the author notes, is increasingly establishing itself as a leading factor in the exertion of a positive influence on world development, and it takes the initiative in determining realistic ways of resolving ripe international problems.

But certain figures in the West try to rewrite history and to turn facts upside down in an attempt to justify Washington's policies in matters connected with the arms race. They resort to this method primarily when it is a question of nuclear weapons. However, one can never erase from the memory of mankind who first used these weapons against people.

The peoples of the world well remember that the Soviet Government was the first to raise its powerful voice against nuclear weapons after the war. It stated that using nuclear energy for military purposes is incompatible with mankind's conscience, and it proposed concluding an international convention forever banning the use of nuclear energy for military purposes by switching it over to peaceful needs alone. Unfortunately, the U.S. response was sharply negative.

The leaders of the Western powers wanted to use the threat of nuclear weapons in order to dictate their conditions of "peace" to the USSR. But life upset the imperialists' plans. "Now," notes A. A. Gromyko, "[word indistinct] to try to whitewash this policy, claiming that the American side supposedly never had any bad intentions in connection with nuclear weapons. They say, sometimes at the highest level, that, while it at one time had a monopoly on nuclear bombs, the United States could, if it had so desired, have dictated its conditions to others, including the USSR, but that it did not do this for high moral reasons.

"There is not a grain of truth in this argument," (p 541)

The Soviet Union's victory over fascist Germany is a reality of the 20th century which led to a radical change in the correlation of forces in Europe and throughout the world in favor of democracy and socialism.

Through the whole book there runs the idea that the trends of contemporary international development confirm the wisdom of Lenin's prediction that socialism would become a powerful international force capable of "exerting a decisive influence on the whole of world politics."⁴ Lenin's great merit, writes A. A. Gromyko, also lay in the fact that even before the October Revolution he theoretically prepared our party for that situation which it encountered as a result of the victory of socialist revolution in Russia.

Having revealed the law of capitalism's uneven development, Lenin drew the conclusion that socialism cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries and, consequently, that the coexistence of two different social systems--socialism and capitalism--or our planet is inevitable.(p 14) Of course, the struggle between these two systems comprises the main substance of the entire historical era in which we live. However, Vladimir Ilich rejected the notion that this struggle would inevitably take the form of continual wars between the two systems.

The author cites a number of Lenin's documents which formulate the basic principles of the Soviet state's foreign policy. In particular, in amendments and observations on the draft statement of our delegation in Genoa, Lenin proposed "throwing out any reference to 'inevitable violent revolution and bloody struggle'," and "excluding the words that our historical concept unconditionally presupposes the inevitability of new world wars."⁵

Repeatedly returning to the principle of peaceful coexistence, Lenin sometimes used the term "peaceful community" [sozhitelstvo] although the meaning remained the same: There exist objective possibilities for peaceful relations between the first worker-peasant state in history and the capitalist countries. Developing Vladimir Ilich's idea, the people's commissar for foreign affairs G. V. Chicherin said at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in 1920: "We do not want to be prevented from developing in the way we wish and from building our new socialist community in peace. We do not support either our system or our power with bayonets and everyone knows this, but nevertheless more and more new enemies set against us. Our policy is a policy of peace, but it is not a policy of capitulation. Our slogan has been and remains the same: Peaceful coexistence with other governments, whichever they may be."⁶

The party consistently implements the Leninist foreign policy course of our state. It is precisely the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties that are the standard-bearers of peace, peaceful cooperation between peoples, and social progress.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries offset imperialism's aggressive policies with a policy of actively defending peace and strengthening international security. In our time, which is characterized by particular complexity in international life, it is extremely important to clearly perceive and correctly evaluate the main processes and directions of development of events in the world arena, and also to thoroughly reveal the class meaning of what is taking place. "Marxism," wrote Lenin, "demands of us the most precise, objectively verifiable consideration of the correlation between classes and of the concrete features of every historical moment. We Bolsheviks have always tried to be true to this demand, which, without doubt, is compulsory from the point of view of any scientific validity of policy."⁷

Discussing the role of socialist diplomacy in contemporary international life, the author notes that, unlike bourgeois diplomacy, it does not oppose, but assists important progressive changes taking place in the world under the influence of objective factors. Our diplomacy promotes the immutable laws of social development. And this is the reason for the effective nature of its activities and for the rapid growth of its role in international relations.⁸

The CPSU and the Soviet Government creatively develop the wealth of Lenin's legacy as applicable to the changing situation. In their foreign policy and diplomatic activities they make use of this invaluable gift which Vladimir Ilich has placed in our hands. Soviet diplomacy draws essential lessons from the past in order to precisely orient itself in the present and perceive the future

in its natural revolutionary perspective. It teaches one to master the methods of diplomatic skill in the Leninist way: To seize the initiative, to act, but also to know how to defend oneself and maneuver, when this is required by the interests of the Soviet state. Acting in accordance with the interests of our people, the CPSU daily thoroughly studies problems connected with foreign policy, thereby ensuring the prompt setting of mature tasks and the skillful implementation of adopted decisions.

"The diplomacy of socialism," the author emphasizes, "is the diplomacy of peace", which stands in opposition to the diplomacy of imperialism. The struggle on this front has always been extremely acute. The socialist states wage this struggle offensively, actively, with great skill, and with constructive initiative."⁹ The struggle is still being waged in the form of competition between socialism and capitalism in the sphere of the economy, including the scientific-technical revolution and the utilization of its achievements. The sphere of international relations and ideology is an arena of constant antagonism.

By relying on the advantages of the new system, and those of close, comprehensive cooperation and mutual aid, the socialist countries have fulfilled the most important tasks of building socialism and are now perfecting socialist society. With every passing year socialism more and more fully and clearly reveals its decisive advantages over the society of social and national oppression. Thanks to the successes of world socialism, the prerequisites for further accelerating historical progress and for ensuring mankind's progress toward new triumphs by socialism are increasing. "The foreign policy and diplomacy of socialism," notes A. A. Gromyko, "are irreconcilable to any encroachment by imperialism on the freedom and independence of the peoples or on their sacred right to independently choose their own path of development. The countries of socialism actively and determinedly repel any such encroachment."¹⁰

A. A. Gromyko's book subjects bourgeois diplomacy to detailed criticism. "Striving to control the destiny of the peoples in their own way," the book emphasizes, "the exploitative classes have always approached the matter of formulating and implementing foreign policy, and diplomatic activities as a whole as if this were their exclusive privilege. They have adopted and continue to adopt every measure to deprive the working masses of the opportunity to participate in this" (p 260).

Bourgeois diplomacy loyally serves the capitalist system and the monopolistic bourgeoisie, which regards diplomacy as an important instrument for retaining and strengthening its international positions and also as a means of struggling against world socialism and the revolutionary workers and national-liberation movement. And it is natural, Lenin pointed out, that the victorious proletariat should be familiar with the methods of its enemy and master these methods no worse than the enemy has done in all spheres of policy, including foreign policy.¹¹ It is clear that deception, blackmail, and diktat, which have become firmly rooted in bourgeois diplomacy, are of course inapplicable in the practice of socialist diplomacy for reasons of a principled and moral nature. But knowledge and consideration of these methods as a diplomatic weapon of the bourgeoisie, A. A. Gromyko emphasizes in his book, are totally necessary for revealing and exposing imperialist plans and maneuvers, and for promptly and effectively rebuffing them.

It is characteristic that the falsity and deception inherent in the diplomacy of the bourgeois states find their expression in the sharp contradiction between the officially proclaimed principles and aims of their foreign policy and those which are really implemented. The book thoroughly reveals the essence of the policies of the capitalist governments which, while proclaiming "noble" foreign policy principles and aims in words, frequently strive to pass off the selfish class interests of the bourgeoisie as general state and national interests under cover of these words, to mask their real intentions and actions in international affairs, and to thereby conceal the essence of their diplomacy, which is alien to the peoples.

Surrounding diplomatic activities with mystery is a favorite method of the bourgeoisie. In this respect it shamelessly turns to its own advantage the carefully cultivated and consequently widespread practice, even more widespread than in the sphere of domestic policy, of starving the popular masses of information in foreign policy matters. "The deception of the popular masses," noted V. I. Lenin, "has been artistically developed in regard to 'matters' of foreign policy..."¹² Secrets concerning the real motives and the operating mechanism of bourgeois diplomacy are guarded no less zealously today than before.

Today the imperialist states attach even greater significance than before to coordinating their foreign policy. This coordination, which is based on the community of class interests of these countries in the international sphere, is now implemented to a considerable extent within the framework of military-political alliances and other closed groups--NATO, the Common Market, and so forth. At the same time, the obvious fact that precisely within this framework the unstable situation in the world of capital is clearly having an effect and profound interimperialist contradictions are becoming manifest, as well as all those serious difficulties which the bloc system created by imperialism encounters--a system sometimes subject to substantial shocks such as, for example, the recent collapse of CENTO and SEATO--this fact cannot help but leave its mark on the effectiveness of this coordination.

An important place in A. A. Gromyko's works is devoted to issues connected with the international activities of V. I. Lenin. Vladimir Ilich frequently had to take upon himself a diplomatic mission in state affairs. He sent messages to the heads of foreign states and received and conversed with large number of foreign representatives--diplomats, public figures, writers, and journalists.

Lenin, who was distinguished by a great sense of responsibility, was able like no other to subordinate everything to the interests of strengthening the positions of the Soviet state, to the achievements of socialist revolution, and to the interests of the workers class and the working masses. The ability to foresee the development of events in international relations a few steps ahead lay at the base of the determination and tactical flexibility which so struck V. I. Lenin's contemporaries. The line of action which he plotted frequently took unawares those who, continuing to think in terms of the past, showed indecision by failing to see that the situation had changed.

As the author notes, the foreign policy activities of V. I. Lenin were and remain a shining example, retaining all its significance, of party spirit and a high degree of adherence to principle, and also of the ability to evaluate social, economic, and political phenomena in their indissoluble and contradictory mutual connection, and to promptly react to changes in conditions requiring a rapid change in tactics. It is precisely the Leninist style that Soviet diplomats emulate, and primarily the author of the book.

Our party fulfills the behest of great Lenin by struggling for lasting peace, democracy, and socialism. "This Leninist policy of peace," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "the basic features of which are determined at the contemporary historical stage by the decisions of recent CPSU congresses, is in the vital interests of the Soviet people, and also basically in the interests of other peoples. And we say with determination: We will not deviate one step from this policy."¹³

In contemporary conditions the problem of preventing a world nuclear missile war is the most burning task, common to all mankind, in international policy. A considerable number of pages are devoted to this problem in the book. And this is natural. Creating a situation for lasting peace on the planet, preventing war by means of negotiations, and limiting and reducing weapons are issues constantly at the center of attention of the communist party and the Soviet state. The struggle for real disarmament has been and remains one of the most important aspects of the international policies of socialism. Since World War II, as the author notes, Soviet diplomacy has made more than 100 proposals on various aspects of the problem of disarmament. "The profoundly peace-loving nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy," states A. A. Gromyko, "is consolidated by the decisions of our party congresses and by the USSR Constitution." (p 656)

A great deal of space in the book is devoted to analyzing the most profound changes taking place in the international arena and the role played by the CPSU's Leninist foreign policy in the world revolutionary process. Even those who do not at all share the ideas of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism are compelled to acknowledge their powerful force and influence.

Consistently supporting the national-liberation struggle of the peoples and assisting the liquidation of the hotbeds of tension artificially created and inflamed in various regions of the world by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism is also a most important aspect of Soviet foreign policy. "The USSR," the author notes, "firmly insists that the UN declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which was adopted 20 years ago at the Soviet Union's initiative and which has historic significance, be totally fulfilled without any exceptions" (p 242). Remaining loyal to its Leninist course, the Soviet state supports and will continue to support the forces of the national-liberation movement. At present this is particularly manifest in relation to the struggle of the peoples of the Arab East, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, El Salvador, southern Africa, and other regions of the world.

The USSR, and its allies and friends struggle for one great aim—the preservation of peace. "The Soviet Union supports the states belonging to the Non-aligned Movement and also developing countries in their efforts aimed at protecting their interests in the sphere of economic and commercial relations. We consider their demands in this sphere to be legitimate and oppose discrimination and all forms of exploitation of developing states by developed capitalist countries" (pp 389-390).

The countries belonging to the socialist community steadily pursue a peace-loving foreign policy course. This course is aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for building socialism and communism, strengthening friendship and fraternity, unity and cohesion between the socialist countries, supporting the national-liberation movement, cooperating with young developing states, consistently upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, decisively rebuffing the aggressive forces of imperialism, and delivering mankind from a new world war.

An invaluable contribution to practically implementing Lenin's ideas and to creatively developing the rich legacy of his thoughts and deeds is made by the decisions of CPSU Central Committee congresses and plenums and by the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other CPSU Central Committee Politburo members, including the author of the book.

The norms of conduct in relations between nuclear powers, formulated by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which are dictated by the vital interests of the whole of mankind and by state leaders' sense of responsibility to present and future generations, aroused great response in the world. These norms are as follows:

To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main aim of one's foreign policy;

To prevent situations fraught with the possibility of a nuclear conflict. And, in the event of this danger arising, to hold urgent consultations in order to prevent a nuclear conflagration;

To renounce propaganda of nuclear war in any form--global or limited;

To pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;

Not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which have no such weapons on their territory. To respect the status of already existing nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world and encourage the formation of new ones;

Not to permit the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form; not to transfer these weapons to anyone or control over them; not to deploy them on the territory of countries which do not already possess such weapons; not to transfer the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.¹⁴ The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to reach agreement at any time with other nuclear powers on jointly recognizing norms of this kind and making them compulsory.

But Washington treats these problems differently. A U.S. Republican Party congress was held in Dallas in a situation of exceptional militaristic intoxication, where a foreign policy program imbued with a spirit of aggression, military adventures, and nuclear insanity and welcomed by the White House was given the rubber-stamp. The newly appeared "crusaders" gave free rein to their overflowing chauvinist sentiments. "America is once again strong," "we have restored America's defense potential," "we have revived the national will"—these and similar outbursts of blind patriotism which filled the program of the Republican Party are clearly in accord with the feelings of the military-industrial complex in the United States and the black forces of world reaction. This very line has been in accord with the foreign policy programs of the Reagan administration in previous years.

"Frightened once again by the fact that world development is not going quite as it would like or, to be more precise, is not going at all as it would like," notes A. A. Gromyko, "imperialist reaction--and the more the possibility of imperialism dominating other peoples diminishes, the more fiercely reaction resists--attempts to halt or at least slow down the course of this world development. It is with this aim and in order to retain their positions that the forces of imperialism resort to increasing their military muscle and undertaking aggressive actions" (p 180).

The cult of force in general and the cult of arms in particular, which is an inalienable feature of imperialism, attests to its lack of confidence in its own future as a social system. This is clearly manifest in the actions of NATO, and primarily of the United States, which takes active steps to break the strategic balance between East and West to its own advantage and to the detriment of the USSR, other socialist countries, and the interests of detente and international security, to return the world to the times of the "cold war" policies, and to step up the nuclear arms race.

The adventurist credo of American imperialism was once again proclaimed with cynical frankness by U.S. President Reagan in his speech at Georgetown University on 6 April 1984. Military strength, he said, whether directly or indirectly applied, must remain one element of American foreign policy.

But, as A. A. Gromyko states, a powerful barrier stands in the path of imperialism's aggressive plans--the countries of the socialist community, the international communist and workers movement, the nonaligned states, national-liberation movements, mass antiwar actions, and all democratic and progressive forces in the world. The stability and reliability of the positions of socialism in the contemporary world, its confidence in the rightness of its cause, and its firm resolution to defend peace on earth were once again convincingly demonstrated by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Member-States in Prague, and also by the Economic Conference of CEMA member-countries which was held at the highest level in Moscow in 1984.

The political declaration adopted in Prague, and also the declaration of the CEMA conference in Moscow, touches on the most varied aspects of international life. But the aim proclaimed by both declarations is the same: to erect an insuperable barrier against war and to return the development of events to a normal channel, that is detente and mutually advantageous cooperation between states. They are genuine documents of peace, which have met with the broad approval of the world public.

In particular, the Prague declaration contains the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries. The obligation of members of both alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against one another must form the basis of such an agreement.

Condemning war as a means of resolving disputes, the author notes that even justified liberation wars are an extreme measure to which peoples are obliged to resort when no other possibility remains of defending their independence and freedom, and their revolutionary achievements from encroachment and aggression (p 473).

Exposing the pharisaism of NATO representatives, who have repeatedly said that no steps can be taken to limit the use of nuclear weapons by the countries of this bloc because there is supposedly a danger that the USSR could attack the countries of the West using conventional weapons alone, the author gives a crushing reply to this provocative question. "If you fear," writes A. A. Gromyko, "an attack by the Soviet Union or by the Warsaw Pact countries in general, then why do you not agree to both NATO and the Warsaw Pact pledging the mutual non-use of both nuclear weapons and any other kind of weapons against one another?" (p 476)

Characterizing the situation taking shape in Europe and in the world as a whole, the author repeatedly emphasizes his deep concern over the continuing build-up of international tension, the further stepping-up of the nuclear arms race, the danger of the arms race spreading to outer space, the threat of the use of force, and the overt military actions in various regions of the world.

The antagonism between two worlds has reached a particularly higher degree of tension and severity in recent years. The basic contradiction of the contemporary era is clearly reflected in this antagonism. The world of capital has doubled its efforts in its desire to exert a systematic, concentrated influence on the public awareness of peoples in socialist countries.

While directing the poisoned arrows of disinformation, slander, and falsification of events and facts at the states belonging to the socialist community, the class enemies strive to clearly determine the objects of their influence in these countries. The book notes that their efforts are primarily concentrated on young people as the social group of the population with the least social experience, as well as on all working people in the socialist countries, in an attempt to instill into them the belief that under capitalism life is almost

like heaven for the workers. The main capitalist country, the United States, begrudges no means for the purpose of intensifying the ideological struggle, psychological war, and other subversive actions against the countries of socialism. A colossal sum of more than \$7 billion is spent annually in the United States for this purpose.

But it is a well-known fact that in capitalist society the bourgeois mass information media acts, on the one hand, as a means of manipulating the awareness of the masses, distorting the truth, and exerting spiritual pressure, and, on the other, as a branch of capitalist enterprise and business. What is more, in foreign policy processes the mass information media becomes an instrument of spiritual aggression and psychological pressure in the hands of the monopolies.

In this connection the author draws a fair conclusion, while addressing the world public: "Do not believe in the statements of those," he emphasizes, "who claim that the Soviet Union supposedly represents a threat to peace. These claims are made by those who have firmly armed their policies with the practice of deceiving people. We are sure that the eternal contest between truth and deception will end with the triumph of truth" (p 703). The ideological struggle in the international arena leaves no room for breathing space. Our party wages this struggle actively, offensively, without yielding to provocation.

In socialist society the state and political institutions which control the mass information media are an instrument of social communication, of the communist education of the masses, and the strengthening of international relations in the interests of peace. Humanism, optimism, and concern for the spiritual growth of the people determine the content and direction of the mass information media under real socialism.

The book critically analyzes the main stake of the United States and the NATO countries on gaining military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact Organization and on pursuing an unrestrained arms race concealed by fabrications of a "Soviet military threat."

Analyzing the contemporary potentially explosive situation at a meeting with voters in the city of Minsk on 27 February 1984, A. A. Gromyko said: "Interstate relations must be based not on differences or similarities in ideologies and social systems, but on common state interests, these interests consisting in all disputes and differences being resolved by peaceful means only" (p 662). The author expresses similar ideas in other speeches and articles.

However, it is a well-known fact that, in order to achieve world domination and to satisfy their own imperial ambitions, the imperialist countries, and primarily the United States, regard psychological war against socialism as a convenient means of further intensifying ideological antagonism, which they [word indistinct] on the highest, one may say, hysterical, anti-Soviet, anticommunist note. Bourgeois ideologists and their stooges, the revisionists, have embarked on downright propagandist brigandage. "We are involved," notes

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "in attempts to organize real information-propaganda intervention against us and to turn radio and television channels into an instrument of interfering in the internal affairs of states and conducting subversive actions."¹⁵

The historical concept of socialism, on the other hand, firmly and consistently, upholds a totally different principle: The Leninist policy of peace, which is in the vital interests of the Soviet people and all working people on earth. This is the aim of all Soviet propaganda and counterpropaganda, and the USSR works resolutely for peace and peaceful cooperation, and against the threat of nuclear war.

As a diplomat and one of the leaders of the USSR's foreign policy, A. A. Gromyko repeatedly emphasizes in his articles and speeches that one can and one must get out of the dangerous impasse in which the world now finds itself. The USSR proposes taking a simple and, at the same time, effective step with the aim of reducing the danger of war—namely, freezing nuclear armament. The Soviet Union and the United States could do this as a start. The Soviet side has made concrete proposals: To prevent the militarization of outer space and use the latter exclusively for peaceful purposes, and to free Europe of chemical weapons. The USSR has offered a proposal for a political settlement in the Middle East which fairly considers the interests of all sides. "The Soviet Union," the author notes, "has held the view and continues to hold the view that the conducting of negotiations is a necessary and essential matter, whether the subject of these negotiations be the Middle East, southern Africa, a region in the Caribbean, [word indistinct] the problem of nuclear weapons and the need to reduce them" (p 661).

Aimed as they are at eliminating the threat of nuclear war, reaching fair agreements in the sphere of limiting and reducing the arms race, and establishing normal interstate relations, the Soviet initiatives have been received with interest by the world public. This has been attested to by the general political discussion held at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly, by the numerous opinions expressed by political figures, and by the response of the foreign press. "The bleak truth of the present international situation is that the nuclear threat is, unfortunately, great. One cannot get away from this fact or laugh it off. One must actively and purposefully struggle against the nuclear threat. This is what we are doing.... Our goals are clear and unchanging: We are categorically opposed to confrontation in the military sphere. We are decisively in favor of radically limiting and reducing the arms race and banning and completely liquidating nuclear weapons."¹⁶ These weighty and significant words uttered by Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his speech at the jubilee plenary meeting of the board of the USSR Union of Writers on 25 September 1984 in Moscow once again confirmed the invariable nature of our country's peace-loving Leninist policy.

The consistency and firmness of this policy are fully manifest in the Soviet Union's new, outstanding initiative—in the proposal to begin new negotiations with the United States on a whole complex of problems concerning space and

nuclear (both strategic and intermediate-range) weapons. Comrade K. U. . Chernenko's reply to the letter from the prominent FRG trade union figure, J. Lehlback, directly expresses the USSR's position on the problem of chemical weapons. "The Soviet Union," said K. U. Chernenko, "has long proposed outlawing chemical weapons and eliminating them from the arsenals of states. ...It will also henceforth do everything possible to help to create zones in Europe free of chemical weapons, and it would be prepared to commit itself to respecting the status of such zones, including within the framework of those steps which could be agreed on between the interested parties and which would really lead to the aforementioned goal."¹⁷ But the United States and the NATO countries, including the FRG, stand in the way to totally banning chemical weapons which, being a means of mass destruction, represent a terrible danger to the whole of mankind, as well as nuclear weapons. These initiatives were put forward in November and December 1984 and met with great satisfaction on the part of the entire peace-loving community throughout the world.

The book "Following the Leninist Course of Peace" draws the reader to a firm conclusion: In unity with the states of the socialist community, the Soviet Union has done and will continue to do everything possible in order to improve the world political climate and prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

Written in animated, sharp, and politically precise language, the new book by A. A. Gromyko will doubtlessly attract the attention of party and soviet workers, and of all who strive to thoroughly understand the topical problems of the contemporary international situation.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. U. Chernenko, "The People and the Party Are United." Selected Speeches and Articles, Moscow, 1984, pp 20-21.
2. A. A. Gromyko, "Following the Leninist Course of Peace," Moscow, 1984, p 735.
3. PRAVDA, 28 September 1984.
4. V. I. Lenin, Completed Collected Works, Vol 31, p 165.
5. V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 63.
6. Documents of the USSR's Foreign Policy, Vol 2, Moscow, 1958, pp 638-639.
7. V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 31, p 132.
8. A. A. Gromyko, in the Name of the Triumph of Leninist Foreign Policy. Selected Speeches and Articles, Moscow, 1978, p 305.
9. Ibid., p 307.

10. Ibid., p 312.
11. V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 41, p 81.
12. V. I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 32, p 335.
13. K. U. Chernenko, "The People and the Party Are United," Selected Speeches and Articles, p 419.
14. Ibid., p 22.
15. K. U. Chernenko, Selected Speeches and Articles, 2d Ed, Moscow, 1984, p 591.

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"Voprosy istorii KPSS," 1985.

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INTERNATIONAL

FROLOV VIEWS NEED TO AVERT WAR UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS

PM161503 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 2, Jan 85 pp 4-5

[Article by Ivan Frolov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Peace Strategy Versus the War Threat"; capitalized passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Today all of us, people of the earth, are living at a difficult and dangerous time. A mortal threat is hanging over mankind, human civilization, culture and reason. Humanity may be wiped out. It is therefore vital to oppose the global threat of war with a global peace strategy.

What must we do jointly to preserve the peace? In the first place we must learn to listen to one another, to conduct a sincere and earnest dialogue on global problems of concern to the whole of mankind. Today the preservation of universal peace and prevention of a thermonuclear holocaust is such a problem. Only in the overall context of the totality of global problems, the current and future concerns of humanity, will we be able to get a clearer insight into that object of our thoughts and actions which may be defined as the global peace strategy on the threshold of the year 2000. Of course this is but an instant in the practically infinite life line of humanity. But that line may be snapped at any moment--today or tomorrow. That is why in answering the question: "To be or not to be?" the people of the earth must positively and firmly reply in the affirmative.

Insanity

Today it is not enough merely to condemn war. Thermonuclear world war is no alternative to any form of human existence. It must be prevented, ruled out of the life of mankind before it is too late. People must realize that war (which would inevitably assume global dimensions) will not help achieve any political, social or ideological goals. Modern thermonuclear war /CANNOT BE A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS./ Unless, of course, it is a maniacal suicide policy. It is necessary to ban war propaganda, as the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries have done. There must be annihilating criticism of all "scientific justification" of war.

The latter-day bourgeois advocates of thermonuclear world war, many of whom claim to be scholars and scientists, proceed from the concept of the

inevitability of wars. They assert that wars supposedly stem from the aggressive nature of man, from the ignorance of the masses and their proneness to violence and fanaticism. Many of these concepts were tried out in practice by the Nazis who unleashed the Second World War. Its results are common knowledge.

Conservative concepts of wars are being supplemented by "liberal" and even "critical" concepts. Under cover of the "Soviet threat" myth, the devotees of this line, while noting the aggressive features of imperialism, arrive at anti-communist and anti-Soviet conclusions. Some "theorists" believe that a thermonuclear world war would be a "radical solution" to the grave problems facing the world, a sort of "purgative deluge." Others go even further, saying that the most probable result of a universal nuclear war would be another nuclear arms race in preparation for a second worldwide nuclear slaughter. Madness upon madness!

Some imperialist strategic doctrines are based on the monstrous assumption that victory in nuclear war is possible. Though this thesis sounds like blasphemy, the authors of these doctrines say that victory will not prevent the vanquished enemy from destroying the victor's industrial potential, his cities and towns, and taking an unprecedented toll of human life. Therefore, some strategists regard the nuclear potential only as a "reciprocal deterrent."

In considering the various ways in which the nuclear weapons may be used these strategists single out as a maximum destabilizing factor the possession by one power of the means to deliver the first strike and the lack of such means on the part of the other side. If both sides have approximately equal capabilities for a second strike (and if they adhere to similar military doctrines), this, in the opinion of the said strategists, is a precondition of maximum stability. Such a combination, they aver, deprives both sides of the hope of winning a nuclear conflict, thereby creating the "balance of fear" implicit in "nuclear deterrence." Many Western strategists believe that the motive force of the nuclear arms race is rapidly advancing technology which, they hold, determines the military doctrine designed to serve it.

Of course, such a conclusion is inevitable, if one absolutizes military technology and adheres to the dubious concept of "deterrence." However, here too it is the social factors that play the decisive role. Military hardware and other technical means of warfare can in themselves, as they pile up, only give a spur to social solutions that would rule out war from the life of society altogether. This logically follows from the mounting threat to humanity presented by technical means of warfare. With time these stockpiles reach the /ABSOLUTE/ limit, the point where they can no longer be used as a means of warfare, for the simple reason that this would mean the end of humanity.

Ban Weapons From Outer Space

With the plans for the militarization of outer space the arms buildup assumes particularly menacing dimensions. Therefore, the fight for a peaceful outer

space is a cardinal aspect of the anti-war movement both today and in the future. This has been the aim of many Soviet initiatives and proposals, in particular the proposal submitted to the 39th U.N. General Assembly session on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of humanity.

The 39th U.N. General Assembly session adopted with only one abstention a resolution "On the Prevention of the Arms Race in Outer Space." The only country that abstained was the United States of America. This was not fortuitous, for it is precisely this leading Western power that has been hatching insane "star wars" plans. The excuse given is that the U.S. is to counter the "Soviet threat" and restore the "nuclear balance" the socialist countries have upset. But these assertions are fundamentally unsound because, let us emphasize this point again, /SOCIALISM AND WAR ARE INCOMPATIBLE,/ particularly nuclear missile war which could destroy the whole of mankind. The basic policy of socialism is to decrease the threat of nuclear war and ultimately remove it altogether.

However, socialism is forced to protect itself from the threat created by imperialism. By doing so it is protecting the /WHOLE OF MANKIND./ To save humanity, to strengthen the unstable peace, the U.S.S.R. and its allies have been compelled to shoulder a heavy burden in order to counter-balance the nuclear threat from imperialist quarters.

At the same time to avert the threat of war and to preserve the peace for the present and future generations it is essential to work for far-reaching changes in international relations. They should be built entirely on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, respect for the national independence and sovereignty of all countries, businesslike co-operation and good will.

To ensure lasting peace and security for the peoples today and in the future it is above all necessary to prevent the militarization of outer space, to end the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, to achieve a radical reduction of nuclear arms and ultimately their total elimination.

A Heavy Burden

The arms race imposes an onerous burden on humanity: the world's military spending exceeds \$700 billion a year. It is diverting vast material and intellectual resources from the solution of the urgent problems facing mankind. Moreover, the further aggravation of these problems may, in the not too distant future, in themselves imperil life on our planet. In the recent period world military spending has shown an annual rate of growth in real terms of 2 percent and accounts for more than a quarter of the gross world product. By the year 2000 it may rise to the fantastic sum of over \$820 billion. It is worth noting that between 30 million and 40 million people in the world die of hunger every year, 800 million are still illiterate and approximately 1,500 million are deprived of elementary medical care.

It is imperative that the world scientific community should concentrate its efforts on resolving the /PROBLEM OF MAN AND HIS FUTURE./ Already today the number of factors exerting a negative effect on the environment has increased to menacing proportions. These above all include chemical factors (over 5 million compounds are in regular use in various fields), rising ionizing radiation which has caused an increasing incidence of sickness (about 20 percent of the cases are due to environmental pollution), the growing rate of mutation which is responsible for more and more congenital deformities and higher cancer risk. These problems can be solved only by pooling efforts in conditions of peace.

At the Turn of the Century

Mankind is approaching the third millennium in the context of rapid development of microelectronics, robots, information and biotechnology. There is a growing awareness of the vital need for a new approach to the social and general human problems arising from the powerful impact of new technology on society and man. This presupposes a harmonious combination of a high level of culture and the release to a high degree of the creative abilities of man. Finally, this should be included in the new "scale of values" that should be humanistically oriented and based on the new understanding of the meaning of life and a new appraisal of everything, including the new technology.

Opening before mankind is a historical vista that may either be blotted out or extended on a scale incomparable with the past. But it is not only a matter of the scale of the future but of the truly breath-taking heights mankind will achieve in the advancement of civilization on the earth and in the Universe. The road to these heights is a long one. But the main thing is to overcome that danger point which could prove fatal today or tomorrow. The efforts of humanity must be concentrated on the solution of the global problems it faces, the No. 1 problem being removal of the threat of war and an end to the arms race. There are other equally urgent problems, namely, economic growth and social development, elimination of the backwardness of the underdeveloped countries, the hunger and poverty that are a source of suffering for millions of working people, their physical and spiritual degradation, advancement of science and technology, education and culture, the public health services. It is also essential to find new ways and means of solving ecological and demographic problems.

"Today, when peace is again being endangered it is necessary to take vigorous action to prevent disaster," Konstantin Chernenko has said. "This is the cardinal task now facing the whole of humanity. And we are convinced that no state should stand aloof from its solution."

Mankind will enter the third millennium if it produces a global strategy of peaceful development in the conditions of global threats and problems, and if it firmly implements that strategy. There is no alternative to this. The destruction of human civilization and humanity itself cannot be regarded as an alternative.

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INTERNATIONAL

SWISS ARMS POLICIES SAID 'INCOMPATIBLE' WITH NEUTRALITY

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 29 Jan 85 p 1

[Unattributed item: "Neutrality a Front"]

[Text] High-ranking officials of Switzerland's defense department are fond of stressing in their public statements that their country strictly adheres to perpetual neutrality recognized by the Vienna Congress of 1815, IZVESTIA's correspondent Kuznetsov writes. Then what can one think of a recent special course of training of Swiss air force pilots at an air base in Sardinia during which they mastered techniques of air combat against "an enemy on flat terrain"?

Switzerland is a mountainous country, and according to the official defense doctrine, air force pilots must improve their skills in mountainous conditions.

As is known NATO's quartermasters have long been insistently offering their weapon systems to neutral Switzerland. U.S.-manufactured military planes patrol the skies. For several months the Swiss Parliament witnessed debates on whether the country should buy West German tanks, operational with the armies of several NATO member countries. It should be noted that some right-wing figures were not concerned over the ethical aspect of the proposed deal (such, as its incompatibility with the status of neutrality) but by the desire to buy the latest "NATO goods" at as low a price as possible.

The matter of course is not in the acquisition of weapons. Switzerland's arms manufacturing tycoons are quite willing to cash in on the export of their own military equipment. It has recently become known that Swiss planes produced for export are used by the dictatorial regimes in Latin American countries for suppressing national liberation movements, the correspondent writes.

(IZVESTIA. January 28. Summary.)

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INTERNATIONAL

KGB GENERAL RECOUNTS SOVIET COUNTERESPIONAGE IN WWII

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 23, Dec 84 (signed to press 16 Nov 84) pp 31-34

[Article by Colonel General V. Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB:
"The Invisible Front"]

[Text] In their secret preparations for an attack against the Soviet Union, the heads of Fascist Germany were staking a lot on all-encompassing subversive activities on our home front. Hitler organized an immense intelligence apparatus and numerous groups of saboteurs, selected from various unsavory types--former members of the White Guard, renegades, and traitors.

Under these conditions Chekist organs played an important role in ensuring the security of the world's first socialist state and protecting it from the subversive activities of imperialism. During the pre-war period the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) directed state security organs to uncover the aggressive plans of Fascist Germany and other imperialist states and to put a decisive end to the espionage and sabotage activities being carried out by the enemy's secret services against our Homeland.

This was especially important in light of the fact that the military and political leadership of Fascist Germany assigned a major role to the intelligence gathering and subversive activities of its special services in its plans for preparing a blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union. The Military Espionage and Counterespionage Service (Abwehr), headed by Admiral Kanaris, was the leading intelligence organization. Intelligence from all the secret services of the "Third Reich" was sent to Abwehr.

In the preparations for aggression, Abwehr and Germany's other special services actively carried out espionage operations, attempting to obtain reliable information on the USSR's military and economic potential, on the number and distribution of units and formations of the Red Army and Navy, new combat technology, and the operation of the defense industry and rail transport. A considerable effort was made to undermine the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, to provoke hostility among the various nationalities, and to create a "fifth column" at the rear of the Soviet troops.

The enemy did not succeed in these attempts, however. Decisive factors contributing to the successful struggle against the subversive espionage activities of Fascist Germany include the moral and political unity of the

Soviet people, which had been forged under the leadership of the Communist Party during the campaign to establish and consolidate Soviet power, in addition to measures taken by the party Central Committee and the Soviet government to make further improvements in the military and political education provided to the workers and to heighten the vigilance of the Soviet people.

Before the war Soviet counterespionage inflicted serious blows against Fascist agents who had been sent to the USSR. In 1940 and in the first quarter of 1941 in western regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia and in the Soviet Baltic republics, that is, in the main strategic areas of the coming attacks by the Wehrmacht, Chekists exposed and liquidated dozens of Fascist intelligence operatives and border units in western districts deflected hundreds of armed incursions by the enemy into Soviet territory.

Soviet espionage operated actively under difficult conditions. Intelligence agents obtained reliable data on the military preparations being made by Fascist Germany for its attack on the USSR and reported this information to the party Central Committee, the People's Defense Commissariat, and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In the spring of 1941 Soviet military intelligence agents and agents of state security organs reported that large forces of German Fascist army troops were being massed in East Prussia and Poland and German troops were being transferred to Finland.

The Great Patriotic War was an extremely difficult ordeal for the Soviet people. Soviet border guards were the first to enter into combat with the Fascist armies. They wrote quite a few exciting pages into the chronicles of the war, offered heroic examples of self-sacrifice, and carried their fighting banners with honor through all the ordeals. The staunch defense of the border hindered realization of the plans of Hitler's commanders to win a blitzkrieg victory over the USSR.

From the very beginning of the war up until its victorious conclusion, in addition to the armed combat a bitter secret war was being waged by Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence against Abwehr and other Fascist special services. The scale and intensity of this war is unparalleled in history. Soviet agents were fighting an experienced and crafty opponent who had at his disposal extensive resources for espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and other hostile activities.

There were 130 espionage, sabotage, and counterespionage organs carrying out subversive operations against the Soviet state. More than 60 schools were engaged in training spies and saboteurs.

During the war Fascist espionage agents concentrated most of their efforts on undermining the power of the Soviet armed forces, primarily the army in the field. The enemy sent large numbers of spies, saboteurs, and terrorists to work among Soviet troops and in the rear. Over half of all the enemy agents sent into the USSR were operating right in the combat zone among the Red Army.

Military counterespionage worked in close cooperation with the army and navy command and their political organs in organizing effective measures to expose and arrest spies, saboteurs, and terrorists. In 1941 alone military

counterintelligence agents together with border guards and NKVD troops neutralized more than 4000 spies, saboteurs, and terrorists, over 1500 of whom were caught in the offensive zone of the "Center" Fascist army group, that is, in the main strategic sector.

During the period of preparations for and implementation of strategic offensive operations by the Red Army in 1943-1944, military counterespionage organs advanced with the troops and participated in ensuring the security of army front-line and rear services and communications. Hundreds of Hitler's espionage agents were neutralized at the front and at the rear of the army in the field.

Active measures were taken to misinform and confuse Hitler's command and its intelligence services with regard to the distribution and number of formations and units of the Red Army and the defensive and offensive operations of Soviet troops. These measures were carried out in close contact with the General Staff and the front-line command. Misinformation activities were carried out during the battles near Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk and during the "Bagration" and Yassko-Kishenev strategic offensive operations, and other battles of the Great Patriotic War. For example, in January 1943 the Fascist command and its intelligence service were given false information on the formation of a reserve army in the town of Gorkiy and on the unloading of 1300 planes and 2000 tanks at northern ports in the USSR.

Heads of the Fascist secret services tried to organize extensive espionage, sabotage, terrorist, and other subversive activities deep in the interior of the country. A special agency called "Zeppelin" was created in early 1942 for this purpose; it was responsible for the organization of bandit and rebel groups in Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, in Kazakhstan, and a number of autonomous republics of the RSFSR; it also carried out terrorist activities against leading figures in the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and against important military leaders in the Red Army.

Taking this into account, state security organs worked energetically to carry out complex measures to protect important military and industrial projects, rail, water, and air transport, and communications centers and lines from spies, saboteurs, and terrorists; and they worked to protect state and military secrets.

Under the leadership of party organs, in close cooperation with the command and political organs of military districts, and with the active support of the local population, a number of major sabotage and espionage operations against the enemy were organized on the Soviet home front. In the fall of 1942 the enemy met with failure in an operation code-named "Shamil" that was aimed at capturing the petroleum plants in Baku and Grozny. A total of 31 enemy sabotage and espionage groups were liquidated in the Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, and Dagestan ASSR.

In early 1943 the large-scale sabotage operation called "Volga Wave", which had been carefully planned by "Zeppelin" and was aimed the destruction of railroad bridges over the Volga and other waterways and military projects in the Urals, Central Asia, and the Komi ASSR, was foiled. Of 19 espionage groups (with 115

agents) sent by "Zeppelin-South" into the Soviet rear in 1943, 15 were liquidated before they could perform their assigned jobs. The members of the other groups ended up in the hands of the Chekists a while later or turned themselves in at state security agencies.

In the fall of 1943 another "Zeppelin" operation was terminated; this one was aimed at terrorist acts against the "big three"--the heads of the governments of the USSR, the United States, and England during the conference in Tehran.

A year later, in September 1944, outside of Moscow Chekists captured two dangerous Fascist terrorist agents, a man named Taurin who had forged documents showing him to be a Hero of the Soviet Union, and his "wife" (a radio operator). Taurin had been instructed by "Zeppelin" to enter the Bolshoi Theater on 6 November 1944 and during a gala meeting dedicated to the 27th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, commit a terrorist act against the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. This operation, which had been carefully planned by "Zeppelin," met with failure.

Chekists also carried out unforgettable heroic deeds behind the front lines. A plan for waging a national battle along the enemy's rear was outlined in a joint directive issued on 19 June 1941 by the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of People's Commissars "To Party and Soviet Organizations in Areas near the Front" and in a decision adopted by the party Central Committee on 18 July 1941 "On Organizing a Campaign behind German Lines." These were program documents for state security organs in their organization of massive espionage, counterespionage, and sabotage operations along the enemy's rear.

In accordance with instructions issued by the party Central Committee, special, highly trained operative groups were sent behind the lines. Chekist espionage agents gathered valuable intelligence information on the enemy and reported this information to the party Central Committee, the State Committee for Defense, the General Staff, and command and military councils at the front. In the spring of 1942 state security organs gave the State Committee for Defense reliable data on the Wehrmacht's preparations for a strategic attack on Stalingrad and the northern Caucasus and on the basic distribution of troops. This information was used by the staff of the Supreme Command to evaluate the situation and make the appropriate decisions.

Intelligence data gathered by state security organs on the eve of the Kursk battle played an exceptionally important role. In May 1943 the State Committee for Defense was informed that the German command was planning a strategic offensive operation called "Citadel," that enemy troops were being deployed near Orel, and that the new "tiger" tanks were to be used in this operation.

Discussing the events in the Kursk radius, Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov said: "Without a doubt, it was thanks to the brilliant work of Soviet intelligence in the spring of 1943 that we had at our disposal some important information on the distribution of German troops before the summer attack...The fine work of the intelligence service was one of the factors that contributed to the success of this major battle."

Chekists penetrated Fascist intelligence organs and schools and various sections of the occupation administration and they exposed spies, saboteurs, and terrorists who were being prepared for infiltration or who had already been sent into units of the army in the field, in the country's interior, and into partisan units and detachments.

There were Chekist intelligence agents in the Abwehr command-103, in many Abwehr groups, in the enemy's intelligence schools in Borisov, Smolensk, Poltava, and elsewhere, and in a number of district commissariats, police institutions, city authorities, etc. In 1943 operative groups working behind enemy lines provided data on 1260 agents who had been sent by Fascist intelligence to carry out espionage and sabotage activities among Soviet troops at the front. Practically all the agents were found and neutralized.

Along with the partisan formations and the heroic members of the underground, operative state security groups carried out active sabotage work in the enemy's rear, participated in the "rail war" that was waged in August and September 1943 on occupied Soviet territory, and carried out daring operations to destroy some of the enemy's important military sites. For example, in May 1942 a large petroleum depot in Polotsk was destroyed and in June 1943 the wheel shop at a large railcar repair plant in Minsk, where Fascist tanks were repaired, was put out of operation.

The personnel of the operative groups were given special training at a separate motorized infantry brigade specially designated by the USSR NKVD (OMSBON). During the war a total of more than 2200 special operative groups were trained and sent behind enemy lines. The military command valued their work very highly. The commander of the Belorussian front, General of the Army K. K. Rokossovskiy, sent a telegram to the NKGB in December 1943 in which he reported that the operative groups under the command of Kaminskiy, Matveyev, and Shikhov had provided important support to the front lines by destroying the Unecha and Gomel railroad junctions. The homeland recognized the service of the Chekists and their heroic deeds during the Great Patriotic War. More than 270 border guards, leaders of operative groups, and Chekist intelligence agents were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Among them were G. Ya. Boris, N. I. Kuznetsov, V. A. Lagin, V. A. Molodtsov, I. D. Kudrya, and N. T. Prikhod'ko.

The raids made by partisan units deep into enemy territory were examples of great heroism and courage and will always be remembered as part of the history of the Great Patriotic War; these groups were lead by Heroes of the Soviet Union S. A. Vaupshasov, D. V. Yemlyutin, V. A. Karasev, D. N. Medvedev, K. P. Orlovskiy, and N. A. Prokopyuk.

Operating under the leadership and control of the Communist Party, and supported by the extensive assistance provided by workers and army and navy troops, state security organs inflicted serious damage on the Fascist espionage and counterespionage services. As a result, the Fascist intelligence services essentially did not fulfill even one of the basic tasks they had been assigned: undermining the power of the Soviet armed forces, disorganizing the home front, and liquidating the partisan movement. They did not manage to gather data on the concentration of Soviet troops made up of strategic reserves of the Supreme

Command staff in the battles outside of Moscow and Stalingrad, and they did not ensure the success of the Wehrmacht's strategic offensive operation "Citadel" (the attack on the Orel-Kursk radius).

The history of the battle between Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence and the German Fascist special services and their agents is a story of the active, offensive strategy and tactics carried out by the Chekists, the preparation and implementation of complex espionage and counterespionage operations at the front, in the rear, and behind the lines of the Fascist troops.

All the plots and subversive activities of the Fascist secret services were defeated by the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, their solidarity around the Communist Party, the great revolutionary vigilance of the workers, and the skillful work carried out by state security organs. Fascist agents found no support inside the country and ran up against the Soviet people's unity and solidarity and the great skills of Soviet intelligence agents, and were therefore helpless to carry out the plans of their bosses.

After the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people managed in a short period of time to rehabilitate the national economy that had been destroyed by the war, and are consistently carrying out plans for further economic development and for raising the standard of living of the Soviet people. Our country has a powerful material and technical base, great military and economic potential, and well-trained and well-equipped armed forces; this serves as a reliable guarantee of the security of the Soviet state and its friends.

The CPSU and the Soviet government are pursuing a consistent course to relax international tension caused by the aggressive policies of reactionary imperialist circles, primarily the United States of America, which has declared a new "crusade" against socialism.

In realizing its anti-Soviet and openly militaristic plans, the Reagan administration is assigning a major role to intelligence, subversive anti-communist centers, and other special services. The scale of their espionage and subversive operations against the USSR and other countries of socialist cooperation is growing and their ideological sabotage activities are being stepped up.

Under these conditions, the party and its Central Committee is assigning state security organs important tasks aimed at protecting the Soviet state and society from subversive operations carried out by imperialism and its special services. K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "It is the job of the Chekists to provide a reliable guarantee of the security of the Soviet Fatherland, organizing their work in accordance with the demands of socialist democracy, with the laws of our people's state, and taking into account the foreign political situation. This work should be carried out on the unshakable foundation of Leninist principles in the spirit of the great Chekist traditions."

In recent years Chekists have exposed and neutralized quite a few foreign espionage agents and emissaries of foreign anti-Soviet centers. A number of employees of the CIA have been caught red-handed in espionage operations. Border troops of the KGB are protecting the borders of the Homeland and halting efforts by enemy agents to enter the Soviet Union.

Historical experience offers the following lesson: anyone who encroaches on the security of the first socialist state in the world or on that of its allies will be met with immediate retribution. While there is still military and political tension, while our country is still threatened by nuclear missiles, Chekists and all the Soviet people will stand vigilantly to guard the security of the Homeland and to defeat any plots by imperialist aggressors.

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO 'REVISE' YALTA CONFERENCE RESULTS HIT

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[Text]

The Crimea meeting took place at a time when the war against Nazi Germany had entered the final stage. It adopted historic decisions on questions relating not only to the conduct of the war but also to the postwar settlement. It demonstrated that effective political co-operation between states with different political systems was possible. Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki are milestones in this co-operation. Yalta was at once the harbinger of Victory and its first result. Nevertheless the decisions of the Crimea Conference are being challenged to this day in the West and attempts are made to revise and rewrite them. Why? Let us recall the beginning of 1945, the relations between the allies at the time and the decisions taken by the Big Three, and, lastly, take a closer look at the present-day critics of Yalta.

Sixty Kilometres to Berlin

At the end of 1944 the Hitlerite leadership made a desperate effort to avert defeat or at any rate to drag out the war. Hitler told his generals that it was essential to deepen the differences between the United States and Britain, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, which in his opinion were already racking the anti-fascist coalition. If this was done "we may at any moment see this entire artificially erected common front suddenly collapse with a mighty clap of thunder," he wound up his speech to the generals on December 10, 1944.

At dawn on December 16 the generals sent select forces of the Wehrmacht into Germany's last major offensive in the war—in the Ardennes on the western front. Two surreptitiously concentrated German armies fell upon several U.S. divisions, breached the front over a 100-kilometre sector and advanced 80

kilometres within a few days. The German offensive was a stunning blow for the U.S. and British Supreme Command. Washington and London were in a state of shock.

Supreme Commander General Eisenhower put the question squarely before Roosevelt and Churchill: help must be sought from the U.S.S.R., it should be asked to resume the offensive on the eastern front. In response to a request from the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister, Joseph Stalin agreed to receive Eisenhower's deputy, Air Chief Marshal Arthur Tedder, who was to brief him on the plight of the Western allies. Tedder left for Moscow as the battle on the western front continued to gain momentum. On December 27, 1944, U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson put it on record, after a talk with U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall, that "...if Germany beat us in this counterattack and particularly if the Russians failed to come

in ... we should have to recast the whole war; we should have to take a defensive position on the German boundary—which ... we could do with perfect safety—and then have the people of the United States decide whether they wanted to go on with the war enough to raise the new armies which would be necessary to do it."

Why this sort of reasoning, why the doubts that the Russians would not "come in"? As like as not it was a matter of a guilty conscience. Stimson and Marshall could not have forgotten that the Western allies had procrastinated for years with the opening of the second front, counting on Nazi Germany and its satellites bleeding the Soviet Union white. Now they feared that the Soviet Union could pay back the Western allies in kind by giving the enemy an opportunity to stage a shambles on the western front. Incidentally, this was exactly what Hitler had in mind in mounting the Ardennes offensive. But the Russians did "come in."

On January 6, 1945, Churchill, after a visit to the front, wrote to Stalin: "The battle in the West is very heavy and, at any time, large decisions may be called for from the Supreme Command ... I shall be grateful if you can tell me whether we can count on a major Russian offensive on the Vistula front, or elsewhere, during January, with any other points you may care to mention... I regard the matter as urgent."

On January 7, Stalin replied: "... In view of our allies' position on the western front, GHQ of the Supreme Command have decided to complete preparations at a rapid rate and, regardless of weather, to launch large-scale offensive operations not later than the second half of January. Rest assured we shall do all in our power to support the valiant forces of our allies."

On January 9, in a letter to Stalin, Churchill wrote: "May all good fortune rest upon your noble venture.... We are both [Britain and the United States] shoving in everything we can. The news you give me will be a great encouragement to General Eisenhower."

Churchill informed the general in confidence of the coming Soviet offensive. Indicative of the general atmosphere at Eisenhower's Headquarters was this statement made by Intelligence Chief General Kenneth Strong at a meeting on January 11: "So much depends on whether the Russians are going to attack. We sincerely hope that they will have started their offensive by the end of February. If not, the Germans will be able to release many divisions that were employed on the eastern front and send them against us in the west." It is not difficult to imagine what the consequences would have been if the Russians had not attacked.

But that did not happen and could not have happened. Loyal to its allied commitments, the U.S.S.R. launched a large-scale offensive on January 12 and 14, 1945. The Red Army advanced nearly 500 kilometres in 23 days. Taking a bridgehead on the western bank of the Oder, the Soviet forces were now within 60 kilometres of Berlin. The British and American forces were 500 kilometres from the German capital.

By this time the Soviet forces had completed the liberation of Central and Southeast Europe. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, just-democratic armistice agreements were concluded with Romania, Finland, Bulgaria and Hungary. The liberation of Poland and a large part of Czechoslovakia was completed in the main.

Operation Argonaut

On the eve of the Yalta Conference the leaders of the Western powers took a far more realistic view of the march of events than they had in previous years. The hope that the Soviet Union would emerge weakened from the war had not materialized. After the Red Army victories at Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943, the Supreme Command of the U.S. armed forces concluded that an equivalence of strength between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. was taking shape. On May 16, 1944, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, in special recommendations to the State Department spoke of the "phenomenal

growth" in the military might of the U.S.S.R. The Joint Chiefs of Staff stressed that after the war there would remain three great powers in the world—the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. In the event of a conflict between Britain and the U.S.S.R. the military strength the Soviet Union "could dispose upon that continent [Europe—Ed.] would, under present conditions, be far too great to be overcome by our intervention on the side of Britain. . . . We could not, under existing conditions, defeat Russia. In other words, we would find ourselves engaged in a war which we could not win. . . ."

Of course in the situation that prevailed in the beginning of 1945 only incorrigible wishful thinkers could have entertained the thought of "defeating Russia." The war was coming to an end, the war in which the U.S.S.R. emerged the victor. The view confirmed by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff on the eve of the Yalta Conference put paid to the calculations of those quarters in the United States which were opposed to the strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition. Realization of the vital need for understandings with the Soviet Union on the threshold of peace gained the upper hand. Churchill is known to have proposed giving the Crimea Conference the code name Argonaut. Roosevelt agreed, feeling that he and Churchill were the "direct successors of the Argonauts." They went to the Black Sea in quest of Soviet help, as Jason of the legend went there in quest of the Golden Fleece. Of course, the Soviet Union's allies, finding themselves hard pressed on the western front, were badly in need of Soviet help. They also needed the final consent of the U.S.S.R. to enter the war against Japan.

The fact that the Soviet Union's partners at the conference were aware of the balance of strength in the world that had emerged as a result of the titanic victories of the Soviet armed forces predetermined the possibility of agreement on the final defeat of nazism and on the future of Europe. Soviet foreign policy on the eve of the Crimea Conference was clear-cut and definitive: top priority at Yalta had to be given to problems relating to the liberation of the peoples from fascist

occupation. The peoples of Europe did not want the return to power of those directly responsible for the disaster into which they had been plunged.

In the Livadia Palace

Roosevelt and Churchill, after meeting on February 2 in Malta to exchange views on a common position at the coming meeting with Stalin, left by plane that night for the Crimea. They were accompanied by a suite of up to 700 political and military leaders, advisers and interpreters. On February 3 their planes touched down at the Saki airfield within 20 minutes of one another. From here they drove to Yalta. The head of the Soviet government, Joseph Stalin, met them in Yalta, where he arrived with those accompanying him in the morning of February 4.

Three palaces near Yalta that had escaped destruction by the hastily retreating nazis were placed at the disposal of the delegations. The Americans were housed in Livadia, where the basic work of the conference was done, meetings of heads of government were held and the main documents were signed. The British delegation was put up at the Vorontsov Palace in Alupka, while the Soviet delegation stayed at the Yusupov Palace in Koreiz. The Soviet delegation, which was headed by Joseph Stalin, included People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov, People's Commissar of the Navy Nikolai Kuznetsov, Deputy Chief of the Red Army General Staff Army General Alexei Antonov, Deputy People's Commissars of Foreign Affairs Andrei Vyshinsky and Ivan Maisky, Air Marshal Sergei Khudyakov, Ambassador to Britain Fyodor Gusev and Ambassador to the United States Andrei Gromyko. At Stalin's suggestion the conference was chaired by Roosevelt, who ruled that the press be barred from the meeting and that photographs were to be taken only by a small group in uniform.

On February 4 the historic meeting of the Big Three was opened in the Livadia Palace. It went on until February 11 and ended in the adop-

tion of a communiqué which recorded the agreement of the three powers on:

--the defeat of nazi Germany; the occupation and control of Germany, and reparation by Germany;

- a United Nations conference;
- a declaration on liberated Europe;
- Poland;
- Yugoslavia;
- meetings of foreign secretaries;
- unity for peace as for war.

The communiqué was published on February 13, 1945.

What was decided at Yalta? Full clarity on this score is of utmost importance, considering that in the subsequent period, all the way to the present, reactionary historiography and propaganda have been trying to pass off as the Yalta decisions something that was not even mentioned at Yalta. For instance, for many years now it has been alleged that

agreements were reached there on "division of spheres of influence," "partition of Europe," and the like. Those who go in for such falsification would do well to peruse the text of the decisions adopted over February 4-11 and to ponder their meaning. To begin with, considerable space in these decisions was allotted to plans for joint military operations against Germany and the attitude to be taken to it after its unconditional surrender. The communiqué underscored that the timing, scope and co-ordination of new and ever more powerful blows to be launched into the heart of Germany had been fully agreed and planned in detail. Western observers, the British journalist Alexander Werth wrote, were much impressed by the fact that throughout the Yalta Conference Stalin had closely followed the course of the war and performed the functions of Supreme Commander-in-Chief every day from midnight to 5 a.m.

The three allied powers solemnly declared: "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism

Poland's security and peace on the continent are inseparable concepts. Our historical experience and our place in postwar Europe, in the socialist community, impart to Poland's position a special political and moral status.

The leading quarters of the United States are playing an ever more dangerous game. Striving for world domination, they regard Europe as a hostage and Poland as one of the main targets of the anti-communist "crusade" front.

But history cannot be reversed. No one has ever been able to do that, either on a global scale or in the case of our country. Nor can that be done this time.

The present U.S. Administration has fleeced the Polish people, causing them damage running to billions of dollars. It has spouted millions of words on the subject of Poland. But it has not found, and does not want to find, a single word to confirm the inviolability of our frontiers, to condemn revanchist schemes or to brand revanchist pronouncements.

Such is the logic of the American, Atlanticist anti-Polish policy. For those who are out to torpedo peace in Europe a strong and stable Poland is an impediment. Those who challenge the Yalta agreements in effect deny that Gdansk, Wroclaw and Szczecin are Polish. This is no oversimplification. It is the elementary truth.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, September 1, 1984.

and nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment...; wipe out the nazi party, nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people...."

It was decided that for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms the forces of the three powers would each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Co-ordinated allied administration and control was provided for through a special Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It was agreed that France would be invited to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the Control Commission.

Further, the Crimea Conference resolved to establish together with other peace-loving states a universal international organization to maintain peace and security. It was decided to call a conference of United Nations on April 25, 1945, in San Francisco to draw up the charter of an international organization along the lines proposed in the informal talks at Dumbarton Oaks.

A Declaration on Liberated Europe was also adopted in Yalta. It provided for joint action in meeting the political and economic problems of liberated Europe. The Declaration said: "The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice." It was stipulated that in accordance with the right of all peoples to choose the form of

government under which they will live, sovereign rights and self-government must be restored to those peoples who had been forcibly deprived of them by aggressive nations. The three powers reaffirmed their determination to build, in co-operation with other peace-loving nations, a world order under law dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

On the question of Poland, the communiqué voiced "the common desire to see established a strong, free, independent and democratic Poland." With regard to the frontiers of Poland the following decision was taken: "The three heads of government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west."

The conference also adopted an agreement on the Far East providing for the entry of the Soviet Union in the war against Japan. The agreement stressed, in particular, that after the end of the war the southern part of Sakhalin Island and all the adjoining islands would be returned and the Kuril Islands handed over to the Soviet Union.

Appraisals

What, in the opinion of its participants, was the substance of the decisions of the Yalta Conference?

"The Crimea Conference," Pravda said editorially on February 13, 1945, "will go down in the history of the liberation war against the nazi invaders as an epochal demonstration of close combat co-operation of democratic powers when the war entered its final phase."

Shortly after his return to Britain, Churchill, opening a debate on the Yalta decisions in the House of Commons on February 27, 1945, said:

"The Crimea Conference finds the allies more closely united than ever before, both in the military and in the political spheres.... The impression I brought back from the Crimea, and from all my other contacts, is that Marshal Stalin and the Soviet leaders wish to live in honourable friendship and equality with the

Western democracies. I feel also that their word is their bond. I know of no government which stands to its obligations, even in its own despite, more solidly than the Russian Soviet government." Parliament unanimously endorsed Churchill's assessment of the Yalta Conference.

Speaking at a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives on March 1, 1945, President Roosevelt said: "I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of the conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live, and can live." In Roosevelt's opinion the decisions adopted were of particular value inasmuch as they put an end to spheres of influence, balances of power, and all other contrivances that had been resorted to for centuries and which had always failed.

The Yalta decisions were approved by democratic opinion the world over. But there were also dissonant voices. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden pinpointed those who voiced "anxiety" over Yalta. "So far as I know," he said in Parliament on March 1, 1945, "the deepest anxiety of all was caused to Goebbels. If the House will read some of the stuff put out by Goebbels after the Yalta agreement, they will see in that the measure of the success of that agreement." True enough, in the twilight of the Third Reich the fascist chiefs were plunged into panic by the identity of the aims of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain manifest at Yalta.

Subsequently Western critics of Yalta exerted no little effort to show that Roosevelt and Churchill had made "concessions" to the U.S.S.R., for example in the matter of the occupation zones. Replying to these critics, Averell Harriman, who had taken part in the Yalta Conference, observed: "The agreed zones were considered to be very favourable by our chiefs of staff at the time they were decided upon. They thought the Russians would be much further in Germany than they got and that we would not have gotten as far as we did."

As regards the agreement on the conditions of the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan which provided for the return to the U.S.S.R. of southern Sakhalin and the handing over to it of the Kuril Islands, Harriman pointed out that there had been a very great danger that the U.S.S.R. would wait until the U.S. had brought Japan to its knees at the cost of huge American losses.

But such calculations were alien to the Soviet Union. It strictly observed its allied commitments.

Yalta was proof of the fruitfulness of equal co-operation among the allies both in war and in peace.

Soon after the end of the war, which resulted in fundamental changes in the international situation and the balance of forces on the world arena in favour of socialism, the international working-class and communist movement and the national liberation revolutions, the reactionary ruling quarters in the West unleashed a cold war against the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries. They hoped to be able to prevent the forces of socialism from growing stronger, to hinder the growth of their influence in the world. Part of the cold-war policy was the campaign launched by Western imperialist quarters against the Crimea decisions. The attacks on Yalta continue to this day. Speaking in Washington on August 17, 1984, President Reagan declared that the U.S. "rejects any interpretation of the Yalta agreement that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence."

On January 2 this year the West Berlin newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost* published a message from Ronald Reagan "To All Berliners," in which he emphasized that today, too, the Western allies were defenders of Berlin. In the broader sense of the word they were also defenders of the German nation. They were in Berlin as guardians and as reminders that the tragic division of Germany and of Europe was not immutable. What did Reagan have in mind? Against whom does he intend to "defend the German nation"? It is a well-known fact that in Teheran and Yalta it was the U.S.A. and not the U.S.S.R. that advocated the division of Germany. It was not the

U.S.S.R. but the U.S.A. that proposed in 1945 that Germany be turned into a "potato field."

Once the Reagan Administration had begun to speak about the Yalta decisions, Zbigniew Brzezinski too hastened to put in a word. On the pages of the latest (winter of 1984/85) edition of the *Foreign Affairs* magazine he said: "The fiftieth anniversary of Yalta is only ten years away. It should be our [Western.—Ed.] shared goal to fashion by then political-military arrangements which, instead of perpetuating the division of Europe ... would create the preconditions for peacefully undoing Yalta."

Brzezinski laid out the following scheme: "in publicly repudiating that bequest—the partition of Europe—the West should underline its commitment to a restored Europe..." The practical means for this would be to put an end to a situation in which the U.S.A. "is seen as alone in supporting dissident 'subversion'" in the countries of Eastern Europe. Brzezinski calls on the countries of Western Europe to involve themselves more deeply in these matters, i.e., in interfering in the affairs of other countries. More precisely, he calls for setting up "a well-funded Franco-British-German-Italian consortium (a foundation for a post-Yalta Europe) to aid East European efforts to emancipate peacefully the eastern portion of Europe."

Needless to say, it is the fate of Poland Brzezinski is concerned over most of all. This country went through grim ordeals in the last war. Winston Churchill, substantiating the justice of the Yalta decisions for Poland in a speech in Parliament, said: "But for the prodigious exertions and sacrifices of Russia, Poland was doomed to utter destruction at the hands of the Germans. Not only Poland as a state and as a nation, but the Poles as a race were doomed by Hitler to be destroyed or reduced to a servile station." During World War II the Soviet Union fought to ensure the freedom and prosperity of Poland and other European countries, but not in order to gain any "spheres of influence." It is this reality—the

existence of the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe within the framework of the socialist system—that no critics of the Yalta decisions will be able to shake. This reality was confirmed at Potsdam and, later, almost ten years ago in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Brzezinski's comments are sufficiently eloquent. They show that the Yalta decisions are a thorn in the side of those who would reverse the course of history. Regrettably, there are quite a number of such people.

The reports sent in by New Times correspondents deal with this subject.

LONDON

Quite some time before the anniversary of the Yalta Conference was due, British television, for a start, castigated the Churchill government for the "mistakes" it made at the end of the war. The "mistake" made in the signing of the Yalta agreements by the Western participants is a leading theme in almost all capitalist press commentaries these days. The reason is quite simple: the authors of these commentaries, as well as their employers, are striving to convince the British people that socialism was victorious in Eastern Europe precisely owing to the "compliance" of Churchill and Roosevelt.

However, even the most inveterate opponents of socialism on the British Isles have been forced to admit that a return of Europe to prewar times is impossible. "It is likelier that not much will greatly change... It may come to appear that two such irreconcilable political philosophies abut on each other in Central Europe," sighs the *London Economist*.

At the same time the idea of "eroding" the socialist community arouses great enthusiasm in British ruling circles. "For West Germany, that means the plodding business of providing the money to the G.D.R.," says the *Economist*. "For Poland, it

means Western government linking debt-rescheduling to some measures of political liberalization." The News Night BBC programme recently spoke with still greater frankness: "Above all, the West needs better contacts with Eastern Europe in order to be able to influence covertly the events taking place there. Each East European country should be approached individually, making use of and encouraging religious, nationalistic and other tendencies there." The ultimate aim of all these exercises in subversion against the world of socialism was set forth with utmost clarity by the selfsame Economist which expressed a hope for radical changes in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself.

Meanwhile the British authorities are doing their utmost to drain the British people of any warm feelings they may have for the peoples of the socialist countries, above all the U.S.S.R. Not a word about the part played by the Soviet Union in the victory over fascism is to be found in official statements or in the press.

It is true that by far not all the people of Britain approve of the attempts being made by the Tories to revise the past. The fight against fascism shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people lives on in the memory of those who manned the Murmansk convoys. The youth is reaching out for the truth about our country through the dense fog of anti-Sovietism. A number of unbiased historians openly object to the distortion, or consignment to oblivion, of the historical role of the U.S.S.R. in the second world war.

At the request of New Times, Dr Hugh Macdonald, lecturer at the London School of Economics and a prominent British specialist in world affairs, set forth his views on the historic role of the Yalta Conference:

"The conference in Yalta was convened in order to settle some urgent questions of a political character arising in the wake of the continuing success of the allied military campaign against the Axis powers. That, in turn, was made possible only due to the enormous might of the Soviet Army and its gigantic effort in checking the nazis and in subsequently advancing westwards. Without the heroic actions of the Soviet Army, I am sure, it can be

questioned whether the other allies would have been able to open the second front as successfully as they did.

"The decisions that came out of Yalta have had a tremendous influence upon the shape of international relations in Europe subsequently. It was the beginning of the postwar settlement. So in suggesting, as some historians do, that the Yalta outcome was imperfect, one must remember that Yalta was only a partial, though a very important step. As for the causes of many of today's disagreements, they appeared after Yalta and after Potsdam.

"Yalta produced a somewhat reluctant agreement on the part of the United States and Britain to Soviet wishes to begin to fill in some of the substantive and urgent issues of what should follow the defeat of Germany. But I don't accept absolutely that Yalta was a Western 'sell-out' to the Soviet Union. Yalta was a stage in what seemed at that time, and still does on the whole, to be a complicated but manageable process of reconstructing harmonious political relations between the great powers.

"The decisions of Yalta ... are used from time to time for reopening questions of postwar settlement. Such an approach ignores the fact that Yalta contributed to stabilization of Europe and its peace for 40 years. By and large, Yalta has been meticulously followed and has not been substantially challenged in practice.

"I would go as far as to draw a direct parallel between Yalta, on the one hand, and the arrangement concluded in Helsinki in 1975. In Helsinki the central decisions arrived at by the great powers in 1945 were reaffirmed. Not only Helsinki wouldn't have been possible without Yalta, the intervening 30 years would also have been more turbulent, less manageable.

"Yalta by no means produced the ideological character of the cold war. I also object against attempts to use Yalta for driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and East Europe. It presumes that social structures in the East are a subject of some revision in the West, whereas the character of relations in NATO and of Western Europe with the U.S. are somehow compati-

Победа в этой войне и образование предполагаемой международной организации предоставят самую большую возможность во всей истории человечества для создания в ближайшие годы важнейших условий такого мира.

Winston Churchill
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Joseph Stalin

The last paragraph of the document entitled "Conference of the Leaders of Three Allied Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—in the Crimea," signed by Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin on February 11, 1945.

ble with Yalta. That, I think, is a one-sided reading of history.

"I argue that Yalta offers an opposite lesson. The conference there shows a possibility of more flexible relations between East and West. To me, that is the essential nature of the decisions of Yalta—to be borne in mind by European statesmen when they meet together."

PARIS

In France, too, there are those who would like to subject Yalta to a revision, who strive to present the results of the Yalta Conference as some kind of a "disaster" for France and for Europe. The fascist-type National Front leader Le Pen who idolizes the German Fuehrer, has declared that he would never agree to the decisions adopted in Yalta. "I shall never agree that the enslaved peoples on the other side of the iron curtain should not ever be able to become a part of free Europe." No comments, we think, are necessary here. This is the line of "rolling back" socialism.

The circles who profess to be opposed to the "division" of Europe have given currency to the thesis of "exceeding the framework of Yalta." What is behind this? Former Socialist Minister for External Relations Claude Cheysson has repeatedly declared that to go beyond the Yalta framework implies striving for a change in the state systems existing in the socialist countries. True, Cheysson intimates that he does not mean any alteration of the borders from the legal standpoint, but merely "overcoming the disunity" of the Europeans. How, by what means he expects it to be "overcome" the ex-minister does not specify. The desirability of "overcoming" Yalta is recorded in black on white in a document endorsed by the ruling Socialist Party at its last congress in the town of Bourg-en-Bresse in 1983. The same idea is propounded by the Socialist Party's national secretary for international relations Jacques Huntzinger in an article recently published in *Le Monde*. He goes so far as to affirm that European security is impossible without overcoming the "rigid system of Yalta."

To talk of "departing from Yalta" actually means to question postwar political and territorial realities, to undermine European stability. Is this in the interests of France?

In February 1945 the Yalta Conference set up barriers to the revival of German militarism. France—

and this is worth remembering—has three times within a single century been a victim of German aggression.

Yet, in recent years attempts have been made, not without the help of France, to set up a military-political alliance in Western Europe, a sort of adjunct of the aggressive NATO bloc. Unconvincing references to the supposed "drifting" of West Germany towards "neutralism" are used to screen this course pursued in the spirit of "Franco-German rapprochement." What "neutralism" can there be when hundreds of new U.S. nuclear missiles are being deployed on the territory of West Germany? The "rapprochement" of Paris and Bonn is acquiring an ever more sinister aspect in the military sphere. Nobody, of course, wants to counterpose France to the Federal Republic of Germany. However, it would be a dangerous delusion to close one's eyes to the revanchist ambitions mounting on the other bank of the Rhine, to revive the spirit of Munich.

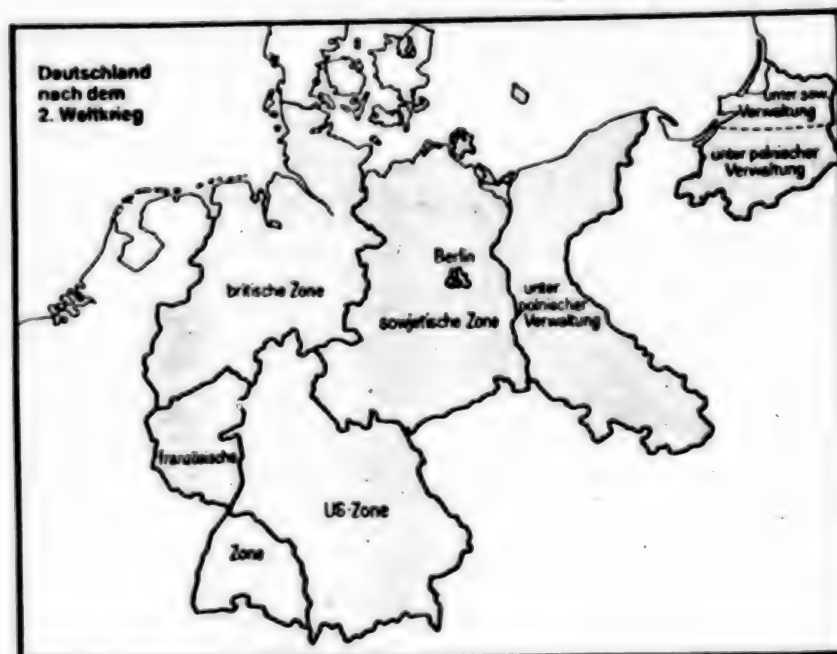
BONN

Today, when the 40th anniversary of the Yalta Conference is being commemorated, the CDU/CSU leaders ever more persistently advance their thesis on the "division of

Europe" which was, allegedly, initiated at the Crimea Conference by the leaders of the allied powers. Hence the slogan "Overcome the Division of Europe," "Overcome Yalta." The German question which is declared "unsettled" can, it is claimed, be solved only "within a European framework." On the other hand, without the "reunification of Germany" the establishment of a "new order" in Europe is presumably also impossible.

How do the leaders on the Rhine visualize a "united Europe"? Chancellor Helmut Kohl says: "Freedom is the prerequisite for unity." But we know what the word "freedom" means in the language of the Bonn politicians: a capitalist socio-political system. Thus, the aim of the campaign against Yalta, in which Bonn is trying to involve its allies, is nothing more nor less than the liquidation of the socialist system in the countries of Central and South-eastern Europe, first of all, of course, in the G.D.R. Ottfried Hennig, Secretary of State in the Ministry for Intra-German Relations, sees the "real problem" in the existence of a

The government of West Germany, 40 years after the crushing defeat of the Third Reich, circulates this kind of map—"Germany within the 1937 borders."



"communist dictatorship on German soil." He adds that a reunited Germany should be integrated into the EEC and should have a constitution similar to that of West Germany.

At the same time the Bonn politicians have now begun to state more frequently that the question of borders is allegedly of secondary importance for them. In a recent interview to the newspaper *Die Welt*, the chairman of the CDU/CSU group in the Bundestag Alfred Dregger said: "The question of freedom is more important than the question of borders." The leaders of the Christian bloc try to convince also the diehard leaders of the revanchist associations of the correctness of their tactics, but the revanchists cannot get it into their thick heads that "freedom" has to be achieved first and the map of Europe recarved afterwards. Everything is topsy-turvy with the revanchists: first they want to seize the lands of other peoples and then establish their own order there. The purpose behind Strauss's slogan of "a free Silesia in a free Europe" is to disguise these territorial claims. The fact that such claims are still alive was confirmed by Dregger who, when asked about the future of Silesia, replied: "Things will never again be the same as they were before 1945. But I believe things will not remain the same as they are at present."

Bonn seeks support for its anti-communist, revanchist concept of "overcoming the division of Europe" first of all from its chief ally—the United States. The mood on the Rhine became noticeably more cheerful when leading U.S. politicians were heard to question the decisions adopted in Yalta on the postwar settlement in Europe. The inclusion of the provocative statement that the United States and West Germany shall not accept the division of Europe for the long term in the joint communiqué adopted after Kohl's recent visit to Washington was estimated by Bonn as a success for its policy.

At present West Germany has been turned into a large American nuclear base. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles—first-strike weapons—are being deployed on its territory. The

Bundeswehr is also gaining in strength. It has succeeded in getting the ban lifted from the production of long-range missiles and strategic bombers in West Germany. The headlong militarization of the F.R.G. is in flagrant contradiction with the decisions taken at the Crimea Conference by the leaders of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, who proclaimed it their aim "to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world."

Consequently, the threat to European peace was not created by some imaginary "division" of the continent. It was created by the arms race unleashed by the NATO countries, by calls for changing the territorial and political realities of present-day Europe.

VIENNA

In an interview granted a New Times correspondent, Dr Fritz Hanacik, General Secretary of the Austrian Association of Democratic Lawyers, said: "In my opinion the Yalta Conference and in general the unity of the allies was an open lesson taught by History.

"True," he went on, "the ruling circles of the West ignored it, breaking the links binding the chief participants in the battle against fascism, entering upon the dangerous, slippery path of cold war. In recent years clumsy attempts have been made to falsify the spirit and the content of the allied conferences. I have in mind not only Yalta—Teheran and Potsdam must likewise not be forgotten. So-called 'documentary publications' have started to appear, whole rivers of memoir froth, books and monographs purported to be scientific expositions, articles written by 'eyewitnesses.' Frankly speaking, nothing can surprise us, Europeans, after even *Stern* magazine became the victim of a hoax when it published absolutely 'authentic' diaries of Hitler, which later turned out to be the work of first-class swindlers who, incidentally, showed themselves to be not bad historians and experts in attracting clients!

"As regards Austria," Dr Hanacik continued, "the Yalta Conference

sanctioned the agreement reached at the Moscow conference of foreign ministers in 1943 on a free and independent Central European state. The Austrian people were given hope for peace at a time when hunger and economic devastation reigned in the land, and that will remain in Austrian hearts forever. This to a great extent probably explains the traditionally friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Austria.

"When I first heard of preparations on foot for 'star wars' and when I read today's newspapers, I would very much like the heads of certain states once again—if they have read these words at least once—to re-read the concluding words of the Declaration on Liberated Europe adopted 40 years ago in Yalta."

TOKYO

"Sterilization of history." These words best convey the essence of the incessant campaign being waged in Japan for a revision of the causes and the lessons of the national catastrophe of 1945. Notwithstanding public protests in Japan itself and in the countries that were victims of samurai terrorism, the doctoring of history textbooks continues, films are demonstrated in which those who destroyed millions of human lives are depicted as "misunderstood romantics" and "saviours of the nation." Both the respectable magazines and the porno weeklies carry, in every edition, reminiscences, memoirs, diaries and "archive discoveries" in an attempt to prove the unprovable.

This "sterilization of history" applies not only to the past. It is closely linked to the present and is designed to influence the future of Japan. This idea is suggested by publications devoted to the Yalta Conference of 1945. As far as the past is concerned, the reasons that prompted the U.S.S.R. to undertake in Yalta the commitment to enter into the war in the Far East are distorted in numerous published articles. The "illegitimacy" of this step is asserted. As if it were not clear that the Yalta decisions were the development of the general principles

of the policy of the anti-fascist coalition in regard to Japan, formulated on December 1, 1943, in the Cairo Declaration signed by the U.S.A., Britain and China: Japan was to be driven out of all the territories it had seized as a result of aggression.

"Japan never attacked the Soviet Union. It was the Soviet Union that attacked Japan," the writer Michio Takeyama says in the Tokyo magazine *Seiron*. An arresting phrase, but a false one. Is it not a fact that in the 1920s and 1930s the Japanese militarists repeatedly launched attacks against the Soviet Union, that they instigated systematic armed provocations on the border between the U.S.S.R. and the Japanese-occupied Manchuria? The world has not forgotten the Japanese invasion of Soviet territory at Lake Khasan in 1938. Let us also recall the participation of Japan in the anti-Comintern pact and Japan's active preparation for a war against the U.S.S.R. at a most difficult time for our country—the time of the German offensive. It is a well-known fact that already in 1941 upwards of a million Japanese soldiers and officers, more than 1,000 tanks and 1,500 aircraft were concentrated in Manchuria along the border with the Soviet Union in violation of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact. It was not at all fortuitous that the Soviet Union was forced to keep in the Far East 15 to 30 per cent of its combat forces that were so badly needed in the west. Finally, it is no secret that in conformity with international law the neutrality pact was denounced by the Soviet government on April 5, 1945—i.e., four months prior to the declaration of war against Japan.

Attempts to revise the Yalta decisions are being actively undertaken at present by the opponents of the establishment of truly good-neighbour relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan. They question whether it is obligatory for Tokyo to adhere to the decision concerning the return of the southern part of Sakhalin Island and all the islands adjacent to it, as well as the handing over of the Kuril Islands to the U.S.S.R. It is precisely this part of the Yalta decisions that serves as a point of departure for the diverse "fighters for the return of the northern territories."

• • •

"Only the shortsighted can assail what has for 40 years now been the mainstay of European and world peace, only the shortsighted can attempt to question the historic Yalta and Potsdam agreements," says Andrei Gromyko. "Indeed, these agreements firmly tie the hands of all manner of revanchists. This was their prime purpose.

"These agreements have become basic to international law by virtue of developments. Twenty million Soviet people gave their lives for the victory over fascism. Millions of people in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition fell in the battle for peace, so that never again would there arise a threat of war from German soil.

"It is in place to tell the reckless who dream of revenge and of a revision of state borders in Europe that the German Reich was burned to ashes in the flames of World War II. There is no return to it, nor will there be."

M. CHERNOUSOV (Moscow)

M. BOGDANOV (London)

V. ANDREYEV (Paris)

A. TOLPEGIN (Bonn)

S. POLZIKOV (Vienna)

Y. TAVROVSKY (Tokyo)

CSO: 1812/143

INTERNATIONAL

BURMESE INSURGENTS, SEPARATISTS SEEN AS NO THREAT TO UNITY

BK140821 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 12 Feb 85

[(Viktor Lintov) commentary]

[Text] The people of Burma are celebrating Union Day today--an important day in the history of the nation. Today marks the 38th anniversary of the signing of the Panglong Agreement which reflected the desire of the various national groups to live in unity within the new and emerging Burma.

The Panglong spirit is still flourishing in Burma and plays an important role in the country. LOKETHA PYITHU NEIZIN newspaper once wrote that solidarity was the (?best) guarantee for the success of the social revolution being carried out in the interest of the whole people by the national groups within the union under the leadership of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP].

It is a remarkable coincidence that Union Day is celebrated 3 days before the birthday of General Aung San, who earnestly fought for Burma's independence. Gen Aung San resolutely denounced the secessionists who tried very hard to get the minority states to secede from the union. He pointed out that secession would only benefit the imperialist and feudal circles and that it would be detrimental to the interests of the minorities. In his speech before the Shan, Kachin, and other delegates at the Panglong Conference, Gen Aung San said he had always dreamed of establishing an independent and united Burma and that he had worked actively for the last 10 years toward the realization of that dream.

The post-independence years in Burma have proven that national unity can indeed survive and thrive. These years have also shown that the country's socio-economic development cannot be carried out and the sovereignty of the country cannot be strengthened without effectively fighting the secessionists of various stripes.

After it assumed power in 1962, the Revolutionary Council upheld the policy of national unity based on the Burmese Way to Socialism. The new leaders gave priority to the social and economic development of national groups living in remote areas by establishing industries, mines, state livestock breeding

stations, and communications. Schools were opened and health projects initiated.

The development in the areas where the national groups live would have been faster had the colonialists now sown the seeds of separatism and animosity toward the central government, and had there been no interference in the internal affairs of Burma.

The Burmese press still carries reports about armed attacks by the insurgents, mine attacks carried out by separatists, and atrocities committed by insurgents against the peasants. Pronouncements made by separatist gang leaders are nothing but instigations. The organizations they represent are actually vice rings and their main objective is to enrich themselves.

The insurgent groups operating in the inaccessible parts of Burma are depriving the country of its natural resources for their smuggling activities. They smuggle jade, silver, and valuable timber out of the country. The BOTAITAUNG newspaper reported recently that they earned vast amounts of money from drug trafficking and drug exports from the notorious Golden Triangle.

The insurgents use the income received from these activities to purchase modern weaponry and military equipment including helicopters.

The antigovernment insurgents no longer enjoy any support among the people. LOKHETA PYITHU NEIZIN writes that more people from all strata of society, including minorities, are joining the armed forces in waging the struggle against the saboteurs. Hence, it is clear that the insurgents are surviving because of support from external elements which seek to destabilize the situation in Burma.

It is well understood in Burma that such blatant interference in the internal affairs of Burma is dangerous. Hence, the BSPP has been calling for relentless efforts in socialist construction based on national unity, and for struggle against insurgents with the support of all national groups.

Conditions exist in Burma for the removal of obstructions on the road to strengthening national solidarity and unity based on the principles of the goal of socialist construction. The Soviet people extend their sincere wishes to the Burmese people for success in marching along this path.

CSO: 4211/43

INTERNATIONAL

IZVESTIYA CRITICIZES POPE'S VIEW OF 'LIBERATION THEOLOGY'

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by R. Tuchnin: "After the Visit"]

[Text] Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, completed his tour of Latin America where he visited Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago. It is his sixth trip to this region of the world where more than 40 percent of the people of the Catholic faith live. But this year the overseas visit of the Pope of Rome attracted increased attention in connection with certain steps taken by influential Vatican circles.

The matter is that in September of last year the head of the Vatican Congregation for Questions of Faith, Cardinal J. Ritzinger, published voluminous "instructions" on the relations of the Roman Curia with the so-called "liberation theology." The supporters of this trend in the modern church contend that in a world where capitalist exploitation rules, where masses of workers suffer from hunger, poverty, lack of rights and social injustice, they do not have the right to stand apart from the popular liberation struggle.

Conservative Vatican figures, and Ritzinger is in the front ranks, decisively took up arms against "liberation theology," threatening with sanctions those who do not share their denials of class struggle and their sermons on "social peace" between the poor and the rich. The sharpest threat was directed against the Latin American clergy in which the adherents of "liberation theology" are particularly numerous and influential. Therefore, in local church circles they waited with particular interest to see how John Paul II would express his attitude on the discussion between the two trends in the Catholic religion.

In his very first speeches the Pope of Rome clearly stated his position. Turning to the youth in Peru, he cited the section of the Vatican document criticizing "liberation theology." And in his other statements he made it understood that any actions of the clergy in the service of the people's revolution would be viewed by him as an anti-Christian act.

Not without reason many journalists, reporting in the West on the visit of John Paul II, noted that it was as if he tried not to notice the huge gap

dividing those with wealth and power from the poor strata of the population, forced to drag out a miserable existence, often with no possibility of getting work. Although the speeches of the Pope of Rome contained general discussions on sympathy toward the poor and calls for "Christian humility," the faithful, as the Latin American press writes, did not hear from the head of the Catholic Church condemnation of the predatory policies of the U.S. transnational corporations, the repressions and tortures practiced by the dictators Pinochet, Stroessner and Duvalier, the overt imperialist siege which the United States, and the Central American puppets obedient to it not for the first year, are waging against Nicaragua.

Even more, at the same time as the visit, the culmination of the Vatican's campaign against the Nicaraguan religious figures who occupied important posts in the government was reached. Minister of Foreign Affairs D'Escoto and other priests were required, in the form of an ultimatum, to either leave the government or be defrocked. With this persecution of the Nicaraguan priests the Roman Curia made it clear to other representatives of the clergy participating in the national liberation movement: they could either abandon politics and refuse to defend the rights of the oppressed and the unfortunate, or in the opposite case they could bring down on themselves the punishing sanctions of the Vatican.

It is impossible not to see that such actions of the highest leadership of the Roman Catholic Church are occurring simultaneously with the strengthening of anti-Nicaraguan provocations by Washington which on one hand conducted negotiations with Managua and even more demonstratively took the course of preparing for military intervention against the Sandinista revolution. There is nothing strange in the fact that in the course of the Roman Pope's Latin American visit certain local reviewers noted that the theme of the U.S. aggressive actions in Central America fell completely from the field of vision of John Paul II.

Despite the fact that the Roman Pope everywhere called on the Latin American clergy to refrain from politics, his trip bore a clearly expressed political character. The local reaction tried with maximum output to use his call for "social reconciliation" to quell the wave of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle of the popular masses and to strengthen their positions at the helm of power. And the conservative circles of the Catholic Church in Latin America received additional help in the struggle against those clergy who are believers in "liberation theology" and who stand on the side of the people fighting for freedom, democracy and social progress.

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INTERNATIONAL.

JAPAN ACCUSED OF POACHING SOVIET SALMON IN OPEN OCEAN

PM071101 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian in its 4 February 1985 Morning Edition publishes on page 5 a 1,800 word article by special correspondents A. Illesh and A. Pralnikov entitled "Tour of Three Seas." It describes how the writers spent 4 days flying over the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Bering Sea to investigate violations of the Pacific salmon fishing regulations. The article points out that Japan, Korea, and Taiwan fish for salmon far out to sea in the northwest Pacific, while the USSR, the United States, and Canada fish only in coastal waters--which does not deplete fish stocks in the way that deep-sea fishing does. It continues as follows:

"Almost all salmon of Asian origin spawn in Soviet rivers. The USSR spends huge amounts--approximately R50 million a year--on reproduction, the construction of fish nurseries, and the cleaning up of rivers to which Asian salmon go to spawn. Therefore we have reason to ban fishing in the open sea.

"But the Soviet Union, taking account of the whole range of fishing ties between our countries and seeking to develop good-neighborly relations, allowed Japan to fish in open waters in the northwest Pacific. And Japan agreed to compensate us for part of our fishing organizations' expenditure on the reproduction of Far Eastern salmon.

"Fishing areas and dates were set, as were quotas for catches in metric tons and numbers of fish.

"But here are a number of figures: 2, 23, 83, 234, 419... They show the growth in violations of the fishing regulations by Japanese ships from 1979 through 1983. And almost all the regulations have been violated..."

The writers go on to describe how they observed boats, their names deliberately covered up, fishing in a prohibited area. The fact was reported to a Soviet inspection ship. They also saw Taiwanese boats fishing illegally. The article continues:

"Later (in Moscow) we learned that last year, according to the minimum estimate, the damage caused by poaching by fishermen from Taiwan amounted to almost R70 million. That was for salmon alone...

"Japanese inspectors have also repeatedly informed our side about encounters with Taiwanese poachers. Thanks for the assistance, but it has to be remarked

that our Japanese colleagues detect their own violators all too rarely. Let us give them their due, though: the number of violations decreased in 1984. However, the Japanese fishing department stubbornly refuses to allow our inspectors to monitor the catch in the Japanese ports where the fish are handed over."

The article notes the strange phenomenon whereby, when an inspector is on board a fishing boat, it frequently catches far more fish than stated in its log book. The writers claim that poachers have an early warning system to warn of the approach of Soviet inspection ships, and that "secret" nets are used to boost the catch. In addition, they state, the type of nets used by Japanese fishermen are harmful to other kinds of salmon apart from the humpback, which is what they are after: "According to approximate data, indirect fishing losses could exceed 30 percent (!) of the catch. And if all the losses are added up (of course we do not count poaching--just losses from 'fishing according to the rules'), it turns out that in sea fishing for salmon the losses are greater (!) than the catch."

CSO: 1807/223

INTERNATIONAL

CEMA CONSTRUCTION SPECIALISTS' MEETING IN TASHKENT

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 January 1985 carries on page 4 a 200-word UzTAG article titled "In the Interests of the Fraternal Countries." A conference of CEMA specialists on "The Physical and Mechanical Characteristics of Cement Varieties" ended its work on 24 January in Tashkent. Ye.N. Shcherbakov, head of the Soviet delegation and chief of a sector in the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Transport Construction summed up the joint studies in the area of the properties of concrete and fittings and, in addition, noted the contributions of Uzbek scholars in discovering energy-efficient means for producing and using cement especially in warm climates and areas with high seismic activity. The Polish delegate to the meeting, Leslaw Brunarski, assistant professor at a construction technology institute in Warsaw, spoke of the usefulness of such conferences in saving time and energy, accelerating the application to production of research work, and in avoiding diffusion of efforts.

CSO: 1830/338

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

FRENCH CULTURAL WORKERS IN TURKMENISTAN--(TurkmenINFORM) A delegation of French workers in literature and art, and activists of the France-USSR Society, has visited Ashkhabad in connection with Days of France in Turkmenistan. The delegation is headed by R. Offrois, president of the France-USSR Society. They met with R. A. Bazarova, deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers. [Summary] [Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 18 Jan 85 p 3]

RADIO-TV PROTOCOL WITH KUWAIT--A protocol on exchanges in the field of radio and television between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Ministry of Information of Kuwait was signed in that country's capital. It covers the period 1985-86. The sides will send each other feature and documentary television films and television programs about the life of the two countries, and also radio programs and music recordings. [Text] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1335 GMT 15 Jan 85 LD]

CSO: 1812/146

NATIONAL.

CHERNENKO'S OLD BORDER UNIT RECEIVES AWARD

PM201618 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 85 Second Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin report: "Award to Border Guards"]

[Text] The volunteer Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko came to serve in this border guard detachment in 1930. Here he was admitted to Communist Party membership. Here the Communist border guards elected him secretary of the party organization. Many memorable pages have been written in the detachment's combat history by the border guards of the thirties and other generations of vigilant border guards.

And now a joyful new event has occurred--Challenge Red Banners of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and USSR KGB Border Guards Military Council have been presented to the Red Banner border detachment.

Speaking at a rally of the personnel and representatives of the public, Lieutenant General V. Donskov, commander of the Red Banner Eastern Border District, noted that the detachment is honorably continuing the glorious traditions of the older generation of defenders of our motherland's sacred borders. For 3 successive years now the servicemen have achieved excellent indicators in training and service. The detachment has been entered on the border guards' roll of honor. It has been decided that the USSR KGB Border Guards Red Banner, which the detachment has won for the third time, should remain here permanently.

The rally participants adopted with great enthusiasm a letter to the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

CSO: 1830/361

NATIONAL

COMMUNIST APPROACH TO DEMOCRACY EXPLAINED

PM041346 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 84 Second Edition pp 2, 3

[Article by E. Kuzmin under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "The Communists and Democracy"; capitalized passages between slantlines printed in boldface type]

[Text] Democracy... With what different, and sometimes contradictory, interpretations this concept has been and is invested. The following question acts as the main watershed here: Does democracy bring people the light of truth, the triumph of genuine freedom, social justice, and humanism, or is it merely a political cover for the dominance of one class over another?

To answer this question we must first of all explain the essence of democracy as a form of political power, as a state system, which is one of the forms it takes. Naturally, this aspect of democracy which always manifests itself concretely, depending on the class essence of the given state, attracts Marxism-Leninism's main attention.

Bourgeois ideologists and opportunists view democracy as a kind of absolute with a set of characteristic features (a multiparty system, the presence of an opposition, parliamentary elections, and so forth). Simultaneously they are stubbornly trying to force this multiform phenomenon of life into a Procrustean bed of abstract schemata. One cannot but recall F. Engels' prophesy here, that in the epoch of socialist revolutions "pure" democracy will become the bourgeoisie's "last haven." "...During the crisis and the day after," he wrote, "our only opponent will be //THE ENTIRE REACTIONARY MASS RALLIED AROUND PURE DEMOCRACY..."// (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Volume 36, page 218). But whereas before this concept was used primarily to justify the bourgeois system of power nowadays its strategic functions are: First, to serve as an ideological weapon for undermining socialist power of the people, and second, to act as a kind of "huckster" to attract developing countries.

"Democracy for a negligible minority, democracy for the rich--this is the capitalist society's democratism," V.I. Lenin observed. "Taking a closer look at the mechanism of capitalist democracy, we discover restrictions everywhere, even restrictions on democratism." (Complete Works, Volume 33, page 88).

Nowadays, the monopolistic bourgeoisie can no longer ignore the political activeness of the working people and the increased cohesion and might of the

working class, and is sometimes forced to make certain concessions. True, it is panic-stricken about these concessions and does its utmost to reduce them to nought. For this reason, the true spokesmen for the working people's interests--communist and workers parties, trade unions, and other progressive organizations--are still having to operate under deliberately disadvantageous conditions, despite the talk about "equal opportunities" and frequently they are subjected to outright persecution and repressions. As in the past, but on an even bigger scale, the monopolies' iron heel crudely tramples the working people's most important socioeconomic and political rights and their national and human dignity, while the imperialist policy of preparation for a nuclear war carries a grim threat to the paramount right of every man--his right to life.

For communists the question of democracy, like any other political question, is in historical terms, a concrete question. In capitalist countries it is communists, in alliance with left-wing forces, who consistently uphold the working people's democratic rights and freedoms, actively using parliamentary and other institutions for this purpose, despite their class limitations. Practical experience shows that in the struggle for the democratization of society's life there can be ups and downs, temporary defeats and substantial advances, which are a kind of prologue to the coming decisive offensive against the strongholds of capitalism. And while state-monopoly capitalism serves as a material preparation for socialism, developed democracy in a certain sense prepares the ground politically for socialism.

Back at the turn of the last century V.I. Lenin discovered a natural law according to which capitalism's "instability" emerges as a tremendous progressive factor which accelerates social development and involves increasingly large numbers of the population in the vortex of society's life, forces them to think about the system under which they live, and "shape their own happiness" themselves. A vivid confirmation of this idea of Lenin's is the massive scope of the antiwar movements, of the peoples' struggle against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

In tackling the relevant tasks, communists face an extremely complex theoretical and practical problem. On the one hand, by entering parliament local authorities bodies, and sometimes even the government, they have the opportunity to express the working people's concerns and needs. At the same time, they have to respect "the rules of the game" of the political superstructure which functions according to laws determined by the logic of capitalism which, naturally, clash fundamentally with the interests of the working class and its socialist ideal.

Experience indicates that the orientation toward making full use of parliamentary democracy, as one form of the struggle against capitalism, is correct in principle. However, at the same time this experience also cautions against the considerable danger which arises when people, getting more and more involved in parliamentary activity, begin to overestimate it, and in their efforts to win the electorate's votes begin to take note of "public opinion" which is frequently fabricated by bourgeois propaganda, and sometimes even deviate from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Continuity in the development of given democratic institutions must not overshadow the socialist revolution's main task, that is the need to change the class content, the essence of democracy as a mode of organization of political power. No matter how deep the cracks may be in the monopolistic bourgeoisie's system of domination, when it is forced to enter into compromises with the people, they cannot, in themselves, serve as a guarantee for genuinely democratic transformations. These call for decisive, irreversible changes in the correlation of social forces and for fundamental changes in the economic and sociopolitical spheres. A genuinely democratic renewal of the state cannot be achieved through compromise with the ruling classes, but only through acute battles with capital, the victorious outcome of which can only be ensured by the complete mastery of the entire rich arsenal of class struggle.

In view of the abrupt vicissitudes of history which mark our time, the quest for new solutions to important political questions is understandable. Within the framework of this quest, it cannot be excluded that in the specific conditions of individual capitalist countries, determined by their traditions and distribution of class forces, it will prove possible to utilize certain forms of political life which have not yet been tested by the socialist society. However, the answer to the question of how valid or realistic they are can only be provided by historical experience. Thus, for instance, all appraisals of the political system of the society of real socialism from positions of the so-called "pluralistic concept," uncorroborated by experience, but vigorously pushed in the West, are scientifically and politically unfounded. Having no cognitive or ideological value, such appraisals frequently end up as fruitless, carping criticism which is detrimental to the common cause of the struggle for socialism. In fact, attempts to artificially implant pluralistic political forms would mean a return to the past, to stages which have already been traversed by each socialist country in the course of its development, and would lead to a distortion of political relations in a direction that accords with the interests of world imperialism.

The entire social reality, life itself, prove beyond question: just as there is no democracy without socialism, so there is no socialism without the consistent development of democracy. Moreover, under socialism, the level and degree of real democratism act as one of the main indicators of society's political, economic, and cultural maturity, and of the manifestations of man's social role.

"An invaluable quality of our democracy is its grip on reality," Comrade K.U. Chernenko has observed. "And the party attaches tremendous importance to its actual development and deepening... Broadly speaking, it is a matter of developing to the full the creative force of the socialist self-government of the people. This is what is meant by improving the political system of our society. It means bringing it closer to the ideal of socialism."

The enormous wealth of practical experience accumulated by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries attests that only socialism is capable of resolving the most complex questions of the democratic renewal of society.

This practical experience, combined with revolutionary theory, makes it possible to discover ways of consistently improving the mechanism of people's power, adapting it to the needs of the current stage of development.

It is above all a question of enhancing the fruitfulness of, and augmenting the returns from the numerous forms of spontaneous social activity. Naturally, the qualitative indicators in themselves give us an idea of the essence of this matter, and are important evidence of the working people's high political activeness. However, mass involvement is not an end in itself in democracy. It must be taken into account that behind the externally positive and impressive figures there often is the far from identical measure of activity on the part of individual citizens and of their actual involvement in the management process. The same people, for instance, are members of a number of organizations and hold several posts each, while others do not belong to any organization whatsoever. And of course, the very process of improving democracy does not proceed "without a hitch." This is connected with the need to overcome inertia and old and obsolete notions, and also with existing contradictions between the growing numbers of people that are being involved in management and the need for their high professionalism and competence in this work, between the territorial and sectorial principles of management, between its public or state principles, and so forth.

In recent years the influence of the soviets of people's deputies on all aspects of the society's life has intensified noticeably, the content of their activity has broadened and deepened substantially, their links with the masses have been strengthened, and the deputies' work has become more varied. However, as the CPSU Central Committee April (1984) Plenum observed, the soviet's vast potential is still not being exploited sufficiently.

Improving the work of the representative organs, the Communists follow their path, relying on socialist traditions. The soviets as organs of power are primarily "working corporations." In this context it is especially important to enhance increasingly the effectiveness of the monitoring of the management apparatus' work. An essential channel here is the regular hearings of government, ministry, and department reports at Supreme Soviet sessions and meetings of their presidiums, deputies' inquiries, the further intensification of the activity of standing commissions, and--most important--the enhancement of the fruitfulness of their work. In present-day conditions exceptional importance attaches to broader publicity which is an inherent part of socialist democracy, a means of boosting the working people's activeness, and a norm of our society's life.

The party regards all this as ways to resolve the pivotal task of combining a highly skilled, strictly professional standard of management with extensive consultation of the people and mass control. At the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers it was emphasized especially that the development of control is one of the most essential avenues of deepening socialist democracy, that in our society this aspect of activity must become truly nationwide, that every Soviet citizen should see himself of a people's controller and think and act in accordance with this lofty civic duty.

The elections to union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and local soviets scheduled for 24 February 1985 will be a major sociopolitical event which will have an important impact on the deepening of people's power in our country, and the improvement of the entire activity of the soviets and organs of state administration. The upcoming election campaign is called upon to further boost the living creativeness of the masses and their activeness in the struggle to strengthen the motherland's economic and defense might, and to demonstrate convincingly once again the indestructible unity of the party and the people.

An important form of deepening links with the masses--the practice under which leaders of rayon, city, and oblast organizations receive workers for audiences directly at enterprises, construction sites, and kolkhozes and sovkhoses--is being introduced increasingly widely in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. "Open-letter days," leading officials' reports to labor collectives, their articles in the press, and the television series "Solved on the Spot" are very popular.

However, there exist many reserves for the deepening of firsthand democracy. For instance, the rural gatherings which have been introduced on a wide scale are not being held regularly everywhere, and frequently the involvement of those who attend them is low.

A task of exceptional topicality is the development of democracy directly in the production sphere. Yet not everywhere do the workers fully exercise the rights granted them by the Law on Labor collectives, and sometimes they lack confidence in the effectiveness of the decisions adopted. In my view, a form of production management at primary level like the financially autonomous team, which was discovered by the masses themselves, is one that, above all, demands close attention here.

One of the factors which determine the improvement of socialist democracy is the enhancement of the Soviet people's material well-being, cultural standard, and quality of services provided for them, and the organization of the working people's living and leisure conditions at the appropriate level in keeping with the spirit of the times. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October (1984) Plenum, the Central Committee Politburo 15 November session, and the USSR Supreme Soviet 2d Session, 11th convocation, were a new vivid manifestation of the party's concern for the welfare of the people. The consistent implementation of the targets and tasks outlined, will promote the further growth of the labor and political activeness of the broadest working masses and foster in them a lasting interest in resolving significant problems.

The widening of the circle of people who are being involved in running the affairs of society and the state is naturally closely connected with the growth of social awareness and the enhanced political standard of the masses. And that, in turn, demands an uncompromising struggle against formalistic and bureaucratic attitudes toward the working people's needs, against bureaucratic arrogance, as Lenin called it, against bribery, nepotism, favoritism,

embezzlement of socialist property, the desire to live beyond one's means, and against all other vices, incompatible with the socialist way of life and the principles of socialist justice and the equality of all before the law.

Without any doubt, the resolution of the aforementioned problems not only does not envisage any "curtailment" of democracy, any "tightening of the screws," but, on the contrary, is inconceivable without the development of people's power, of socialist self-government, and the working people's initiative, just as it is inconceivable without the further strengthening of the state of the whole people. The party rejects any kind of vacuous twaddle and is working persistently to combine more closely democracy and an enhanced standard of organization, responsibility and discipline in society. It is consistently seeking to establish order in all sectors, to ensure that citizens and people in official positions discharge their duties without fail and efficiently, and it proceeds from the premise that only a truly strong state enjoys the active support of the people.

Life will show what stages of development and growth socialist democracy has yet to undergo. But one of the most important ideological-political guiding stars for the coming years is the conclusion that the establishment of the classless society will, by and large, take place within the historical framework of mature socialism. And the obvious prospects for statehood and democracy also stem from this.

At the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference on Questions of Ideological Work, which ended a few days ago, the need for a serious elaboration of the theoretical problems of the development of socialist self-government in present-day conditions was pointed out. Studies of this kind would help the party to resolve more successfully the practical tasks of improving the Soviet society's political system, and all forms of involvement of the masses in state and social affairs.

Bearing in mind the difference between the concepts of "exercise of power" and "management," it is possible to say that even at the stage of developed socialism the overwhelming majority of the population, virtually all the people are the instruments of political power, that is, they themselves /EXERCISE/ power. With respect to the process of management, we can, obviously, as yet only speak of the masses' /PARTICIPATION/ in management. "Because when /ALL PEOPLE/ have learned management and are in effect managing social production on their own, then the door will have been opened wide for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase...." V.I. Lenin wrote (Volume 33, page 102). In its efforts to improve socialist democracy and the machinery of power the party is guided by a principled approach which attempts to combine current practice with long-term objectives and endeavors to ensure that present-day reality contributes as much as possible to progress toward them. Undoubtedly, this approach will make it possible in the new edition of the CPSU program to reflect fully the living link between historical periods and define clearly ways of developing our democracy and statehood and all forms of the self-government of the people which is the genuine forerunner of the communist future in the socialist present.

CSO: 1800/176

NATIONAL

ATHEIST EDUCATION TECHNIQUES, PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 23 Nov 84) pp 46-52

[Article by A. Okulov: "Atheist Education: Experience, Problems"; headings in upper case appear in boldface in source]

[Text] As a result of the tremendous socioeconomic changes in the life of our society since the establishment of the Soviet state, the great mass of workers has been definitively and irrevocably estranged from religion through a major educational effort on the part of the Communist Party. If we take into consideration the fact that the overwhelming majority of the prerevolutionary Russian population was more or less in the grip of religious convictions, then we must state that indeed the victorious emergence of the Soviet state was characterized by historic achievements not only in the socioeconomic sphere but also in the formation of a new person free from religious oppression.

The history of the Soviet nation has concretely confirmed the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that religion will disappear in the same measure that it is separated from its social roots. The improvement of social and economic living conditions, the liquidation of class and national oppression, the development of public education, the spread of literacy and general education among the population and the wealth and accessibility of ideas--all this decisively furthered mass atheism in our country. The Communist Party was concerned about the religious questions of the Soviet people at every step in the building of socialism and about developing therein a scientific and materialistic world view. From Leninist documents to those issued by congresses and recording resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee in recent years, the ideas of Lenin as developed creatively by our party have been and will remain the chief compass for the course of atheist activity.

The consolidation and supremacy of the scientific, materialistic world view are not merely an important accomplishment of socialism and an indicator of

This article may be used to accompany Section 7 of the course "Theoretical and Methodological Problems of the Ideological Activity of the CPSU".

its maturity, but also a far stride in the intellectual history of mankind and an inalienable component of the revolutionary transformation of the world on a socialist basis. However, it would be erroneous to imagine the dying of religion under socialism as an automatic process going its own way along a constant, direct upward course. This process has contained contradictions and its way has not been straight or simple.

Let us turn to the intellectual legacy of V. I. Lenin. The Communist Party sees as its most important task the resolution of contemporary problems in building communism under present-day conditions on the basis of Leninist thought and methodology. With precisely this in mind, the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee outlined the comprehensive program to raise the level of ideological activity in the nation, including that of atheist activity. In his speech, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized that there may be no slacking in this work inasmuch as a considerable part of our population remains under the influence of religion. "Many of the ideological centers of imperialism are attempting not only to support, but also to establish religiosity and lend it an anti-Soviet, nationalistic direction. They count heavily on religious extremists. At the same time, illusions of "infringements of freedom of conscience in the USSR" are being disseminated ("Izbrannye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2nd Ed., Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p. 597).

The advocacy and dissemination among the masses of the scientific world view represents to the Party a task for the central government. The lessons of the history of Soviet society have corroborated with absolute clarity that success in building the new life would be unthinkable without a consistent, uncompromising battle for the scientific world view of the workers and against idealistic views and against religious ideology, traditions and the mores of the old order.

INTELLECTUAL CONTENT OF ATHEIST EDUCATION

Of lasting importance for understanding the intellectual content of atheist education as an integral component of communist education as a whole is the Leninist methodological aim, according to which Party organizations may allow neither refusal to carry on the intellectual fight against religion nor attempt an administrative prohibition of religion. The CPSU regards this principle of V. I. Lenin's as a necessary foundation of formulation of tasks which society must carry out at every step of its development in the area of atheism and religion. "For our party," stated Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "the fight with religious superstitions has always represented a struggle of the scientific, materialistic world view against an anti-scientific, religious world view. It conducts this fight through intellectual, truly humanistic and democratic means alone--those of education, conviction and training" ("KPSS i Prava Cheloveka" [The CPSU and Human Rights], Moscow, Izdatel'stvo APN, 1981, p. 201).

The basic principles of atheistic activity are: subordination of atheist propaganda to the resolution of key socioeconomic problems in the building of communism; consistent scientific reexamination of the individual ideas and means of atheist propaganda; utilization of up-to-date findings in the social and natural sciences in practicing critiques on religion and developing atheist convictions among all Soviet people; the systematic study of processes occurring in the sphere of religious ideology and ordinary religious consciousness and a class and Party approach to judging these processes and phenomena; achievement of unity and mutual rapport between atheist education and the directions of educational activity in the political, labor, moral, internationalist, esthetic and other spheres. These principles have the common premise that scientific atheism is not merely the denial of religion but a positive concept composing an inalienable component of the materialist world view.

A scientific approach to atheistic activity under present-day conditions is unthinkable without close attention to the ideological problems posed in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Party documents. At the Congress it was emphasized that education is successful only when founded on a secure basis, the Party's socioeconomic policy, and when it corresponds to the questions being resolved in the socioeconomic sphere. This position of importance provides a reliable reference-point, likewise, for serious enrichment of all our work in the area of atheist education.

There are still serious faults in the direction of atheistic activity. They are frequently related to failure to hold this work in sufficient esteem and to remember that the overcoming of religion is one of the difficult collective processes in the life of society. It must be borne in mind that conditions for life and work have changed substantially in recent times. The ignorance and inner darkness of the working masses have long since disappeared.

The very modernized propaganda of religion has become refined. It will hardly be a revelation that far-reaching changes have come about in the shape of theological thought. It would be erroneous to conceive religion and the Church as immovable factors of communal life unaffected by social change. An analysis of theological works and study of the preaching of different religious organizations shows that there has been a very clear attempt in church circles in recent years "to take a place" in basically new social conditions and to "sign up" in a political and ideological sense for the new world. There has been a definite transition from enunciating the principles of the social neutrality of religion to propagandizing ideas concerning its socially activist character. The goal of this reorientation is giving religion the reputation of a socially progressive factor in communal development and reinforcing its influence in this way. We may speak of revision of different forms of the "socialization" of religion

and acknowledge efforts to identify religious ideals with social ideals in our society which, as is well known, are formed outside religion in a fundamental conflict with it.

In church and theological circles, the task is seen as rapprochement between the religious and secular spheres. Thinking that the majority of believers actively supports the socialist system and takes part along with all other citizens of our country in building communism, church leaders assert that the "hand of God" is visible in the development of socialist society and that believers, consequently, ought not restrict their lives to narrow boundaries of service to the church. The idea is expressed that the new society is being built with the "divine blessing".

In general terms, this represents the political orientation and ideological position of the religious organizations active under the conditions of contemporary Soviet society. Thus, it would be wrong to ignore the attitude of theology to new problems and concepts and motives new to it; however, on the other hand this fact must not be overestimated or taken for evidence of a change of the social nature and function of religion in communal life.

Some atheists draw the conclusion from the church's political loyalty that religion has already been converted under socialist conditions to a completely ordinary, innocuous psychology and turned to private views that have nothing to do with broad social interests; they conclude that it has lost its ideological function. Unfortunately, this is not the case: according to such views, one would have to assert that the propaganda effort of the scientific materialistic world view is superfluous. Naturally, in our country religious organizations are not backed up by a particular social class with an interest in preserving it or striving to use religion in its own interests. From this aspect, the Soviet state has "disarmed" religion and this represents one of the essential factors in the ideological conflict with religion. However, the socio-ideological role of religion is not only determined by its potential for conscious exploitation by certain classes. Religion continues to fulfill its conservative function objectively, acting upon the thought and behavior of millions of people. The negative role of religion consists in the orientation it advocates and which leads to a failure to honor human life, rather proclaiming it unessential by comparison with an illusory world beyond earthly existence. Religious teaching, by reconciling man to the idea of blind obedience to fate, in one way or another enchains his social activity and thus represents an ideology unacceptable to us.

For this reason, in spite of all positive changes in the activity of religious organizations that have taken place in this nation, criticism of religion as an ideology should remain sharp and uncompromising and must not be accompanied by superficiality and impatience, which have an injurious influence on atheist work.

To overcome religion is a complex and prolonged process demanding thorough study of the principles by which it is conserved and of how workers can be estranged from it. Engels wrote, "We must not come to terms with religion, which subjugated the Roman Empire to itself and in the course of 1800 years ruled over the greater part of the civilized world, merely by declaring it an absurdity concocted by charlatans. In order to come to terms with it, we must first be able to explain its origins and development, starting from the historical circumstances in which it arose and attained supremacy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol. 19, p 307). Under conditions of socialism, too, atheist education depends for its success largely on systematic and thorough analysis of all social developmental factors, objective and subjective, which are inherent realities of our world.

PRECONDITIONS OF EFFECTIVE ATHEIST ACTIVITY

The effectiveness of atheist work as an important component of all ideological activity in the country, of course, is a function largely of the extent to which the objective and subjective causes are overcome that support religious views and a religious mood among different groups of people. There are many such causes, explained in the writings of our scholars and researchers. Not only the legacy which the Old World bequeathed to us is involved here, but also our own, as yet undecided questions of human existence. "...The consolidation of a new socialist structure brings triumph over extreme social conflicts; on this victory is based, ultimately, the break with the enemy classes. This outcome has nothing in common with that oversimplified, politically naive conception that socialism offers total salvation from contradictions and incongruities, from all the confusion of human life. Well may one say that in their own fashion our opponents exploit this conception when they try to oppose the new order, pointing out that under socialism, too, there is travail and disillusion and at times a very difficult conflict between the old and the new."¹

Unfortunately, in the theoretical plan, all these questions are insufficiently thought through as regards our atheistic work. The Enlightenment view of religion as merely the fruit of error and deception, does not get to the heart of the matter. We must not forget that religion addresses not only pseudoproblems but also the genuine ones confronting us in everyday life. Contemporary religious teaching often tries to make use of the many inadequacies in our educational work, speculating on the human emotions that arise under such conditions as the international situation, the threat of nuclear war and so forth.

Any intensification of atheistic activity under present-day conditions is still obstructed by formalism, or alienation of propaganda from real life, and still more from the believers, and by failure to differentiate the organization and conduct of propaganda according to various classes of

believers. This approach is of little use. Success in this work can be expected only when it is inspired by the ideas of combative materialism and its content is related to life, everyday work and the wide circle of believers' interests.

Moreover there are often situations in which the arguments of science by themselves have a weak effect and must be strengthened by the psychological microclimate of the collective in which the believer works, by mutual relations in that microclimate, by concern for others etc.

Atheistic activity under contemporary conditions, it seems to us, ought more and more to make a transition from a narrow antireligious direction to a broader circle of theoretical and situational problems, in order to achieve close communication of atheist education with other directions of the party's intellectual and educational work and with a whole multiplicity of problems, the resolution of which depends on forming well-rounded development and harmony of the person. The complex problems of atheist education cannot be turned into "naked" atheism. This problem must be viewed in the perspective of the maturation of the mind in our society as a total background, from the position of the Marxist-Leninist conception of humanity, the ideals of communism. The key to this is the Marxist world view, the basis of the whole system of fundamental values and principles affecting the behavior and way of life of the people.

In recent years our debate with religion has become more and more involved with the area of moral problems. Its subject is how a person ought to live; what ideals one should strive for; what the purpose of life is. The majority of church sermons now address earthly moral problems, to be sure in their own way. More than 60 such works were published last year alone, for example, in *ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII*.

We ought to oppose religious ideas of the goal and purpose of life with the Marxist understanding of existence, life and its purpose and of happiness, good and evil and so forth. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee presented as one of the most important problems in the struggle with religious ideology the utilization of skillful, creative propaganda on the Soviet way of life and fundamental values of socialism. Such positive disclosure of the problems of the people's life of the mind and the greatness and beauty of communist ideals will be a truly effective critique of religious ideology, creating conditions for greater and greater uprooting of religion from our society. The moral health and intellectual wealth characteristic of our society grows out of the practice of workable socialism and from the people's living and working conditions and their ideals. Communist morality possesses a shining faith in the human being, in man's developmental abilities, possibilities and strengths.

We constantly observe in atheistic work that people turn to religion less often as a result of argument about the universe than when they are prompted by difficulties and confusion connected with their personal life and the failures of human social ties. The extremely constricted and limited social connections of many believers lead to a feeling of inadequacy and to incomprehension of one's true place in life and society. This estrangement from the community may under certain conditions become the soil that nurtures religion. Life teaches that the most significant factor in the liberation of man from religious beliefs is the growth of the individual's social ties, the involvement of the believer in social activity, the increasing influence of the socialist collective on his way of life and a careful and concerned attitude towards people, especially people whose fate is difficult, among others those who suffer hardship.

Specific sociological studies of the state of religiosity carried out in the 70's in many Soviet republics, krais and oblasts have helped enrich the work done in the sphere of atheist education. There has been significant success in overcoming a purely pedagogical approach and acquiring more complete mastery of socioeconomic and cultural factors influencing atheist convictions. In many republics, krais and oblasts, more precise descriptions of the organized structure of atheist education itself have been provided; coordinating councils have been established and agitators and organizers designated in labor collectives and dwellings. Effective forms of atheistic activity among different segments of the population have emerged.²

The individual sociological studies which are well thought out give considerable factual material to Party and other social organizations and institutions connected with ideological work and scientific information about religious phenomena among different population groups concerning why many people still turn to religion, what channels serve for the propagation of religion among new generations, what processes take place in the sphere of atheist education, what level and characteristics atheism has achieved in different social classes and so forth. Without this information, as our press points out, no effective supervision of scientific atheistic activity is possible, nor can competent decisions be made or atheistic work be planned and steered.

In our country, a rich fund of knowledge in the field of atheist education has been acquired. It must be increased and invested to raise the emphasis on effective work. Here we will point out the importance of one of the numerous problems that arise—atheism work among young people. In recent years, religious organizations have devoted substantial attention to "intellectual support" from representatives of youthful intelligentsia. They understood very well that religion and the church have no future apart from an influx of young people and thus this field of our youth organizations' ideological activity must undergo thoroughgoing improvement.³

It must be kept in mind that, in the words of Academician B. A. Rybakov, truly, "youth today is very interested in cultural history and in particular the

history of religion. Sometimes this interest is somewhat unhealthy; however, more often it is a question of understanding a problem in depth rather than superficially."⁴ For this reason it is necessary to explain to young people the roots of religion and explain it in the greatest possible scientific depth.

The Marxist study of the history of religion, like that of the history of free thinking and atheism, with its consistent application of the principles of historicism in its approach to these problems, serves as an indispensable condition of the successful struggle between the Marxist world view and religion and of the further growth of atheist teaching among the people.

Concerning many historic events in our country's past, adherents of various religions often try to profit from the claim to have been protectors of national originality, high moral ideals and culture. History has always been a field for fierce battles between the Marxist world view and religion. An example deserving our attention as atheists is the millennial observance of the Christianizing of Rus, for the observance of which in 1988 the Orthodox Church has already begun active preparation. In this connection it will doubtless attempt to rekindle religiosity among the people and exaggerate the meaning of the church in the Russian cultural/historical tradition.

It is the task of scientific atheist propaganda to reveal the social essence of Orthodoxy on the basis of the historical situation in which it arose and explain the position and role of the Orthodox Church in various stages in the development of feudal and capitalist society. On the basis of fundamental studies in Soviet historiography in the history of religion and of the church in prerevolutionary Russia,⁵ we should give written or oral analyses of the complex phenomenon of religion in terms of class. We should refute clerical legends concerning an immutably positive role of the church with conviction and especially repudiate an alleged distinguished significance of Orthodoxy in the creation and development of the Russian state as an historic process.

In atheist teaching we must not lose sight of the role that imperialist propaganda assigns to religion. There is no end in capitalist countries to the propagandistic lie concerning the situation of the church and its believers in the Soviet Union. These endeavors are intended to lower the workers' opinion of socialist achievements. Decades of clerical propaganda keep the population of the West in ignorance of the social and cultural transformations that have taken place in our country.

Many foreign anti-Soviet centers still dream to this day of turning religious organizations in the USSR into groups opposing the Soviet states. Making use of various illusory ideas about the situation of religion and the church in our country in its fight against socialism, clerical anticommunism tries to

every way to retrace vestiges of nationalism on this soil. In recent times the voices of Ukrainian nationalist organizations abroad have sounded especially insolent. Western clerical centers try to call to life extremist sentiments among representatives of the Catholic clergy in the USSR. Reactionary Islamic centers abroad have likewise activated their propaganda in efforts to profit from events in Iran and the area of Afghanistan; they hope that the Islamic faith will return to life among broad population segments in the Central Asian republics. Declaring themselves "friends of Islam", they discredit the national policy of our party and discuss the incompatibility of the communist ideology with national spiritual values, which Islam is said to defend.

That such assertions are entirely unfounded is evident to everyone who has any knowledge of the actual position of believers and the church in the Soviet Union. Following Leninist principles, the Communist Party at every stage in the building of socialism and communism has been able to direct the secularization process in the USSR along humanist lines, attracting believers to the formation of a new world; it has done everything for the complete satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the Soviet people and the development in them of a scientific and materialistic world view. Socialism has created for the working masses the greatest accessibility to knowledge and the gifts of the mind. Now more than three quarters of workers in the economy have (complete or incomplete) higher or secondary education. Socialism has liquidated all forms of oppression and secured the right to work, education and rest as well as the full employment of workers and has prepared genuine possibilities for the creative growth of the members of society.

The most important task of atheist propaganda is to report on the truth about socialist society in a profitable and convincing way and to inform every Soviet person about its advantages and the socialist and humanistic direction of atheist education. Our society helps an individual maintain himself in life without "mediators" in the form of divine powers and helps him to see the world and manifestations of life without obstacles and barriers in the form of religion's world-picture. It helps a person to find happiness and the goal of life here on earth. This is the very essence of education based on science and materialism.

In the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee in recent years concerning the perfection of ideological work, just such a set of measures is set forth to improve the atheist education system and raise its scientific level in conformity with different segments and groups of the population. These documents reflect questions such as the further intensification and extension of scientific research work in the field of atheism; preparation of cadres of lecturers and propagandists of atheism; strengthening of atheistic education, especially among young people; widespread use of all forms of ideological mass media in atheist teaching: movies, radio, television, literature, visual arts and so forth and the strengthening of direction by the Party of these

important areas of ideological work. When these tasks have been fulfilled, atheistic propaganda can be made more specific, better differentiated and more directly goal-oriented and we will achieve its organic integration into the system of the Party organizations' ideological work and therewith increase its efficacy.

SUBJECTS FOR REPORTS

1. Basic positions of CPSU policy in questions of religion and the church.
2. Causes of the vitality of religiosity under conditions of socialist society.
3. Relationship of atheist education to other directions of ideological and educational work.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu. V. Andropov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2nd ed., Moscow, Politizdat, 1983, p 246.
2. This finding is summarized in the book "Ateisticheskoye Vospitaniye. Voprosy i Otvet'y" [Atheist Education. Questions and Answers], Moscow, Politizdat, 1983.
3. The specific character of this work is discussed in detail in the article by I. Galitskaya, "Some Problems in the Atheistic Education of Young People", POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 4, 1983.
4. VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEISMA, No 20, 1976, pp 223-224.
5. Only a few historians' works will be pointed out: N. M. Nikol'skiy, "Istoriya Russkoy Tserkvi" [History of the Russian Church], 3rd ed., Moscow, Politizdat, 1983; "Religiya i Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii" [Religion and the Church in Russian History], Moscow, Mysl', 1975 (herein are published articles by prominent historians of our country such as B. D. Grekov, S. V. Bakhrushin, M. N. Tikhomirov, M. N. Pokrovskiy, A. M. Sakharov and others); N. S. Gordiyenko, "Kreshcheniye Rusi" [The Baptism of Rus]. Facts Against Legends and Myths], Lenizdat, 1984 and others.

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2. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 Iyunya 1983 Goda" [Materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June, 1983], Moscow, Politizdat, 1983.
3. Chernenko, K. U., "KPSS i Prava Cheloveka" [The CPSU and Human Rights], Moscow, Izdatel'stvo APN, 1981.
4. Chernenko, K. U., "Utverzhdai' Pravdu Zhizni, Vysokiye Idealy Sotsializma" [To Affirm the Truth of Life; High Ideals of Socialism]. Speech at the Anniversary Plenary Meeting, Board of Directors, USSR Writers' Union, 25 September, 1984, Moscow, Politizdat, 1984.
5. "Ateisticheskoye Vospitaniye" [Atheist Education]. Handbook for Active Members in Ideology, Moscow, Politizdat, 1983.
6. "Current Problems of Scientific and Atheistic Education in the Light of Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress", VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, No 29, Moscow, Mysl', 1982.
7. Kuroyedov, V. A., "Religiya i Tserkov' v Sovetskom Gosudarstve" [Religion and the Church in the Soviet State], Moscow, Politizdat, 1981.
8. Sherdakov, V. N., "Illyuziya Dobra. Moral'nye Tsennosti i Religioznaya Vera" [The Illusion of Good. Moral Values and Religious Belief], Moscow, Politizdat, 1982, pp 21-79.
9. Kostenko, N. A., "The Unity of Atheistic and Moral Education in the Process of Forming the Personality of the Communist Type", VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, No 29, Moscow, Mysl', 1982.
10. Ugrinovich, D. M. "Culture and Religion (Some Theoretical Problems)", VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, No 30, Moscow, Mysl', 1982.
11. Filimonov, E. G. "Sotsial'naya i Ideologicheskaya Sushchnost' Religioznogo Ekstremizma" [Social and Ideological Essence of Religious Extremism], Moscow, Znaniye, 1983.
12. Mazalova, V. P. "Ateizm i ego Fal'sifikatory" [Atheism and its Falsifiers], Moscow, Politizdat, 1984.

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NATIONAL

AUTHOR DECRIES LACK OF PRINTED LEGAL CODES IN USSR

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 16 January 1985 carries on page 3 a 2,000-word article by E. Zhbanov entitled "If I Had a Code in My Hands." The author begins by outlining a courtroom situation in which the defendant was honestly unaware of the law, but nevertheless held accountable for his wrongdoings. Zhbanov addresses the issue of how to enlighten further citizens of their legal rights and duties; at present there are legal lectures, discussions, faculties of law, television shows, and a large flow of information available on the subject. He notes that, in fact, during the years 1972-1980, the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences recorded an increase from 46 to 57 percent in the number of people who had an increased awareness of the law; fifty-one percent of all citizens were recorded as having a full awareness of their legal rights and obligations. Yet, the author states, that leaves one-half of the population without this full knowledge.

One particular problem seems to be that it is impossible to find copies of the legal codes of the USSR or union republics for sale anywhere. Publication of these documents is sporadic and haphazard: "...the publication of a code (in particular with commentaries) is a rare, episodic event, and instantly, scarcely have they appeared in the world, they take on the character of a deficit good--they do not reach the open store-counter--in essence they are 'spread out' and not sold--so that it is necessary for even a majority of professional jurists, alas, to obtain one 'from an acquaintance'." The author cites several examples: the most recent publication of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR with commentaries (Moscow, "Yuridicheskaya Literatura," 1984) had a tirage of 170,000 copies; the Code of Labor Laws--180,000 copies; the Commentary to the Code on Marriage and Family Law of the RSFSR, which came out in 1982 (and "for some reason, only [available to] workers of the law-preservation organs")--a tirage of 50,000.

As part of a solution to this problem, the author praises the efforts of Kazakh authorities, who saw fit to print the new Code of Administrative Offences in the local newspapers, in addition to printing the book itself.

In response to the authorities statements as to why so few copies are printed ("there is not enough paper"), the author notes that a more rational use must be established in order to print sufficient copies of these important documents.

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YEREVAN HOSTS CONFERENCE ON USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND TECHNOLOGY

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian on 23 January 1985 on page 2 carries a 400-word ARMENPRESS article on the 6th Science Council Conference on the use of atomic energy and technology, Armenian SSR Science Academy Presidium, held in Erevan. Laboratory workers at the Low Temperature Physics Institute reported on experiments in hardening cutting instruments by the cryogenic process which when strengthened by liquid helium increases the strength of the cutting tool ten times. The conference was attended by the country's specialists in the plasma ion field. They reviewed the research data and its potential application in industry. The scientists from the Kharkov Physics and Technology Institute, authors of the iono-plasmic process, reported on the creation of a new generation of installations for the strengthening of cutting instruments utilizing the principle of electron plasma spraying. Participating in the conference were A. M. Petrosyanits, state committee chairman for USSR use of atomic energy, Yu. E. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and the M. B. Edilyan, deputy chairman of Armenian SSR Gosplan.

FIRST PLAY AT TAGANKA THEATER UNDER NEW DIRECTOR

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 February 1985 on page 3 carries a 1,200-word article by E. Surkov who reviewed the first production at Taganka Theater staged by its new director, Anatoliy Efros. Efros replaced the exiled Yiriy Lyubimov. For his first play Efros chose Maxim Gorky's "Na dne" [On the Depths] which received mixed reviews: "Uneven with weaknesses and omissions, but deep and powerful," wrote Surkov.

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REGIONAL

VAYNO ON POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 34-43

[Article by K. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia: "Increasing the Role of Managers in the Ideological-Political Education of the Masses"]

[Text] Ideological and mass political work, as one of the main areas of party control of the process of improvement of developed socialism, is increasingly coming to the fore, and its role and significance are also increasing. Just as a result of the active, deliberate creativity of the masses it has been possible to solve the large and complicated problems that arise in the process of perfecting developed socialism. And the scope and effectiveness of this activity is directly proportional to the level of the ideological conviction of the workers. This is why the party proceeds from the idea that the formation of a new individual is not only a most important goal, but also an indispensable condition for communist creativity.

All this multifaceted work in the modern stage should be carried out in a close unity with all political, organizational and economic activity for implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. "Only the merging of ideological-educational work," emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "with political, organizational and management work will produce the necessary effect. Both party and economic leaders must always be aware of this."

The need to provide for an ever-closer unity of ideological, organizational and economic activity of management personnel was again emphasized with full force in the recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Participation of Management Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political and Educational Work Among the Workers." This document which is for the entire party is a convincing confirmation of the constant concern and the great attention which the CPSU Central Committee and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko personally devote to the state of affairs in the republic. At the same time this is also an immense assistance to the republic party organization in such an important matter as enlisting management personnel for direct participation in the political, ideological and moral tempering of the masses.

The CPSU Central Committee noted in its decree that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, the party committees and the local party organizations in carrying out the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the June (1983) and February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee as well as the instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K. U. Chernenko, have begun to pay more attention to ideological and political-educational activity. The republic party organization is conducting purposive counterpropaganda and rebuffing the ideological sabotage of foreign television and radio and reactionary immigration and clerical centers.

Having given a high rating to the work of the republic party organization and management personnel for ideological and political education of the workers, the CPSU Central Committee also drew attention to certain shortcomings and omissions in this important matter. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee is for party organizations of the republic a document of immense practical significance which will be used as a guideline for many years. It sets the tasks not only for party organizations, but also for councils, trade unions, the Komsomol and state agencies and public organizations. The in-depth analysis of the successes and shortcomings contained in the decree will help them to take a correct and critical view of their own work, to see shortcomings better and to find ways of eliminating them.

The ratings, conclusions and recommendations of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee are of principal importance for each party committee and for each party organization in the republic. They inspire us to new deeds and to working better and more fruitfully today and tomorrow than we did yesterday. Now everything depends on party committees and party organizations, on their ability to mobilize the labor collectives to carry out the tasks facing them and to take advantage in the necessary way of the great, highly skilled, authoritative and politically prepared detachment with the republic's management personnel comprises. Their organizational and political activity should fully correspond to the requirements of the 26th Party Congress, and the June (1983) and February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The tasks of the republic party organization for implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Participation of Management Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political and Educational Work Among the Workers," were comprehensively considered at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and at plenums of all party gorkoms and raykoms. Now local party organizations of the republic everywhere are holding meetings at which the communists are discussing in an exacting and businesslike way the tasks for implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee.

The main thing now is to translate the earmarked plans of measures into the language of practical deeds and to utilize more effectively the entire arsenal of means and forms of active and effective participation of managers of all levels in mass political and educational work with people. Erratic efforts will produce nothing here. It is necessary to get set for systematic, long-term and persistent work, taking into account the fact that the process of instilling in personnel qualities of a persistent political leader is just as

complicated as life itself is and that as we advance the demands placed on them by the society are constantly growing. "Managers of our day," emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko in a speech at a meeting with workers of the staff of the CPSU Central Committee, "should be distinguished primarily by their devotion to party ideals, their profound knowledge of the matter, their organizational capabilities, their high culture, and their ability to think on a large scale, have a sense of the new and recognize it in practice. It is from this standpoint that we must educate personnel and improve the system for training them and increasing their qualifications."

In carrying out these tasks the party gorkoms and raykoms and the local party organizations of the republic must keep in mind that management activity is primarily implementation of the party policy, the provision of a close unity of ideological, organizational and economic work, the concentration of major attention on live political and educational work, and the development of initiative and activity among the workers.

The level of ideological maturity of the workers and their attitude toward the matter largely determine the fate of our plans. For it is because of the fact that some of our personnel do not have an adequate understanding of this most important point that one still encounters a narrow departmental approach to the matter. In this there frequently lie also the roots of formalism, pointless involvement in administrative work, superfluous meetings and paperwork, and attempts to explain imperfections by so-called objective factors.

Life and practice irrefutably prove that fruitful political and educational work can be carried out only by a politically mature and trained manager. Therefore the party gorkoms and raykoms and the local party organizations of the republic are faced with an immediate task: to constantly increase the responsibility of the managers for the state of affairs in the sections entrusted to them and the fulfillment of the tasks by the party, and to instill the ability to draw political lessons, speaking in Lenin's words, from the practical experience of economic construction.

All this increases the need to develop in personnel such definitive characteristics of the political manager as communist ideology and a political approach to evaluating phenomena of social life and to adopting decisions and carrying them out.

The basis of the communist ideology and the political maturity of the manager is a profound mastery of revolutionary theory and the ability to constantly check with Marxism-Leninism. It is precisely a scientific world view that makes personnel conscious political managers who are capable of independently evaluating the phenomena of social life, seeing the inseparable connection between current tasks and our final goals, and arguing convincingly against any ideological opponent.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and the party gorkoms and raykoms, during the course of preparing for the new school year in the network of political and economic education, adopted additional measures for improving ideological and theoretical training of management personnel and

instilling in them a high political culture and a new type of economic thinking. The main role here is played by the organization and content of work in the system of political education of managers. Now practically all workers are included in various forms of political education and almost every other one of them is a propagandist. In order for all managers to have a profound understanding of party policy, to be able to apply the knowledge they have received in practice, and to have a clear idea of their public duty and carry it out in practice, the party committees are called upon to improve the content, the quality and the effectiveness of political training of management personnel.

The main form of training top managers of labor collectives are the schools of the party-economic and ideological aktiv which are created under the party gorkoms and raykoms. More than one-third of the managers train in them. As the results of the past training year showed, we are far from taking full advantage of the possibilities of this tested form of studies for management personnel. The studies did not penetrate deeply enough into the subject and its link with real life, the primary sources were poorly studied, and many students did not take notes. These shortcomings were especially typical of schools of the party-economic and ideological aktiv of the Tartu and Kokhtla-Yarve gorkoms, the Rakvereskiy, Raplaskiy, Khar'yuskiy and a number of other party raykoms. Here it should be noted that frequently the key problems of economic and ideological work were raised not by secretaries of party committees who should know the state of affairs in the local areas, but by lecturers who were brought in from outside. But, as a rule, the lecturers considered these issues in the general theoretical plane, without analyzing the practice of a specific city or rayon.

Naturally, such an approach does not satisfy the students, 70 percent of whom have a higher education and almost 30 percent of whom have taken training in the university of Marxism-Leninism. As was pointed out in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the local secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms are responsible for the work of the schools of the party and economic aktiv. They bear responsibility for making sure that the training is close to the needs of the social practice of the listeners and that they will learn effective methods of management and political education, and the fundamentals of pedagogy, social psychology and sociology. It is necessary to quickly inform our personnel on crucial issues of CPSU policy.

Universities of Marxism-Leninism should become the main form of political training of management personnel at the republic, city and rayon levels. At one time more than 70 percent of the deputy ministries and chairmen of state committees took training in the University of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. And this was quite correct. As was noted at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, the students responded well to the organization of the training process in the university and the quality of knowledge they received, although at first some of them were not especially enthusiastic about studying there. Today the party committees are faced with the following task: to include the overwhelming majority of management workers in training in the University of Marxism-Leninism.

The University of Marxism-Leninism should expand correspondence training so that as many management workers from rural areas of the republic as possible could acquire a university education. The work experience of the division of managers of the RAPO shows the great advantage of this form of training and, consequently, it deserves further development.

A profound mastery of political knowledge is a most important duty and the obligation of each manager. Party committees are obliged to increase the responsibility of management personnel for political education, the more so since up to this point the demand for quality of training has been clearly inadequate.

Party committees should also change their attitude toward the organization of independent training of managers. This is even more important since in the current training year many managers are studying according to individual plans. While improving the work of the entire system of Marxist-Leninist education, it is necessary to rely on further development of political self-education and the instilling in managers of a profound internal need for theory, an interest and a taste for constant independent work with primary sources and political literature.

The quality and the results of political training under individual plans depend to no small degree on how consistently the party committees supervise this training and how principled they are in evaluating the knowledge of the manager. But there is still a great deal of liberalism and inexactness in this important matter. The 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia demanded that party committees introduce an efficient system of personal accounting for independent study on the part of each registered worker and that it check on the quality of their knowledge.

Management workers themselves form a large detachment of propagandists. This important party duty is a serious and responsible burden for each one of them. And here they cannot do without constant specialized training and deepening of their knowledge. Here propagandists should be helped by various kinds of seminars, courses and consultation sessions. But party committees have still not achieved a radical change for the better in their work with propagandists.

Can it really be considered normal that many manager-propagandists throughout the entire year attend only one or two seminars which are conducted monthly by the party gorkoms and raykoms. Nor do many of them attend the biweekly courses which are organized by the House of Political Education of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. It is no wonder that certain manager-propagandists turn the conducting of classes over to others. It is quite clear that the so-called "doubblers" cannot always fully replace the manager when studying a complicated problem, and as a result the quality of the classes and the return from them decrease.

In a word, the party committees will have to improve their work with manager-propagandists and make greater demands on them for raising the level of their knowledge. This is especially important now, at the beginning of the new school year, in the system of political and economic education.

On the eve of the new school year in the system of political and economic training everywhere in cities and rayons of the republic, the Day of the Propagandist, which has become a tradition, has been festively celebrated. A unique kind of review of their readiness for the classes, this day showed that we have many leaders of political education who have profound knowledge and a great spiritual culture as well as the ability to relay to their students the essence of the material that is being studied, to relate it to present-day problems and economic and social tasks of the labor collective, and to draw an audience with their clarity of thought and word.

For their useful public labor, the best of them were awarded on the Day of the Propagandist the Certificate of Honor of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, the Leninist Certificate of Honor and table medal, as well as gifts. Among those who were awarded the certificate of honor was the head of the office of political education of the party committee of the Tallinavtotrans Association, Liliya Vilipo, the motor electrician of the base for technical service of the fleet of the Estonian Maritime Shipping Line, Yuriy Bogomolov, the head of the office of political education of the party committee of the Ab'ya Sovkhoz in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon, Val'veriys and others--a total of 12 people. The Leninist Certificate of Honor was awarded to the propaganda activist, Hero of Socialist Labor, a librarian of the office of political education of the Pyarnu City Committee, Lindy Soovik, an engineering technologist of the TEZ imeni M. I. Kalinin Association, Boris Levitskiy and others, and the table medal--to the engineer of the Electrical Equipment Plant imeni Kh. Pegel'man, Vasilii Yelykov, a professor of the Tartu State University, Iokhannes Kalits and other comrades. It should be noted that among those who were given awards there were many management workers who had devoted a considerable part of their life to the cause of propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and the CPSU policy and had mastered a kind of second profession--the profession of a propagandist. And this is quite predictable.

Difficult problems of education can now be resolved only by well-trained propaganda personnel. They are responsible in the most direct way for the force and depth of the convictions of our people, their ability to figure out complicated phenomena of life correctly, their attitude toward labor and the ideological atmosphere in the collective. Therefore one can say without exaggeration that it is to the great credit of the army of many thousands of propagandists that the republic is successfully carrying out its national economic plans and socialist commitments and that the majority of our workers of cities and villages are working with initiative, creativity and a complete exertion of efforts.

It is now required of manager-propagandists that they reinforce and multiply all that is positive that has been achieved in the republic in the arrangement of Marxist-Leninist education in recent years, especially since the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which called for comprehensively developing active forms of studying, giving them a more practical direction, and eradicating dogmatism and formalism.

Party organizations of the republic have an immense means of political education of the workers--various forms of verbal agitation and lecture propaganda--which is constantly being used by the large ideological aktiv, as

it were, the middle level. In the republic today there are more than 30,000 political informers and agitators in operation. There is no need to show that painstaking daily work with this category of party aktiv serves as an immense reserve for party organizations. But now, unfortunately, in some places part of this reserve is only listed on paper and does not do any real work, and another part, and a considerable one at that operates in the old way, departing from crucial problems of the present day and from problems of counterpropaganda. Certain party committees have drawn out the certification of political informers and agitators and do not give them enough methodological assistance. All this has a negative effect on their work.

The main task now, in light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, consists in maximally activating the work with this category of ideological personnel, improving their qualitative make-up, and gradually raising their role to the level of requirements that are now placed on managers who are engaged in political and educational work among the workers. And this, in turn, requires the improvement of ideological-theoretical training of political informers and agitators as well as raising their political cultural level.

One of the most important and extremely necessary qualities a manager should have is the ability to persuade people and to make them follow him. Without this quality everything else turns out to be less useful. V. I. Lenin taught that personal influence and speaking at meetings mean a great deal in politics. Without them there is no political activity. This Leninist precept was clearly formulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee. It also notes the positive experience of the participation of management workers in unified politics days, sociopolitical readings, days of the open letter, articles in the press, and presentations on television forums and on the radio. These effective forms of ideological and political education of the workers should be developed further. The practice of conducting unified political days should be the first to be improved.

An effective form of political, ideological and educational work, of lively contact between managers and workers, and of study of public opinion, the republic political days, which are traditionally held on the second Wednesday of every month, bring together almost 400,000 people. The results of the 63rd political day were just summed up. Thus unified political days now have a more than 5-year history. For example, at the last one thousands of management workers spoke. They were asked a multitude of questions and many business suggestions were made. As always, they were taken into account and strict control was established over their realization.

The party gorkoms and raykoms acted correctly when they refrained from addressing large audiences. The brigade, the farm and the student group were all quite reasonable audiences for a manager of any rank. Now almost half of the appearances are directly in the work stations, which gives the conversation special confidence, particularity and effectiveness.

It should be noted that in the last year and a half all members and candidate members for the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, 20 ministers and chairmen of state committees, and many official

party and soviet workers have spoken before the creative and scientific-technical intelligentsia, and workers of the press, radio and television. There have been a total of about 250 meetings with these collectives.

An example of creative search is provided by the Tallinn, Pyarnu, Narva and Kokhtla-Yarve party gorkoms. Here they regularly hold meetings of party and soviet workers with teachers from schools and educators from children's preschool institutions. Last year alone there were 200 papers given by speakers of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia in training institutions of the republic.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee quite correctly points out that party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers of the republic still speak rarely to youth audiences and in collectives of trade, public catering, consumer services and public health institutions. And yet the mood of the workers and their evaluation of the work of Soviet agencies of authority depend to a considerable degree on their operation. The same thing can be said about members of propaganda groups of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, who practically never speak in residential areas, or to pensioners. The latter, although they are not involved with labor collectives, display a vital interest in their affairs. And party committees must fully satisfy this interest.

Party gorkoms and raykoms are the main units in the organization of unified political days. The success of political days in local areas and the effectiveness of the speeches of the management workers depend largely on their attitude toward the matter. An example of a constant search for more effective forms of organizing and conducting political days is the experience of the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy, Paydeskiy, Khiyumaaskiy and several other party raykoms. They hold preliminary meetings with the visiting comrades at which they familiarize them with the state of affairs in the rayon, the problems which will have to be solved, the difficulties and the questions that are most frequently asked in the labor collectives.

Practice shows that along with these positive example, in the republic there are party committees which, instead of painstaking organizational work, have reduced their role to that of an information transfer unit between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and the labor collective. For example, in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon there have been cases where the collective did not learn about a meeting on the political day until the speaker from the Central Committee arrived. Such cases are not simply a matter of organizational and technical mismanagement, but manifestations of a formal attitude toward this important kind of mass political work. It is clear that this is unacceptable in any measure, but in the organization of unified political days which involve thousands of people it is absolutely intolerable.

The success of unified political days and their political and ideological-educational influence are determined largely by the central figure of this measure--the manager who speaks before the people on instructions from the party committee. And on this plane the party gorkoms and raykoms should be interested primarily in the kind of impression the speech leaves in the consciousness of the people, and how it is reflected in the deeds of the labor

collective. This is the way the problem was posed by the CPSU Central Committee. This is the way workers of the republic understand the point of the political days.

"To listen to the word coming from the labor environment, from the vanguard of socialist construction, to consult with the people of labor," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the February (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "this today should be our primary duty, a profound internal need of each communist-manager." An appearance on a unified political day should be regarded as a kind of report from the manager to the workers concerning his work. This is precisely why it is very important for the managers to speak to more than just the collectives under their jurisdiction.

Reports from managers to the population and their speeches and conversations in the labor collectives and in the residential areas have become an indispensable constituent part of political and ideological-educational work of the party among the masses and a weighty element of socialist democracy. "It is important," it is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "for the Leninist style and traditions for daily political work among the masses to become an internal need of managers at all levels. They are called upon to unwaveringly deepen the ties between the party and the people and to educate not with words, but with deeds--efficient organization of labor, concrete concern for the individual, personal example and their moral image."

At the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia they noted the work of those members and candidate members of the Central Committee who go to any labor collectives on unified political days. Among them are A. Kaldma, V. Lind, I. Lott, E. Myandmaa, Kh. Teder and others who during the past 2 years have spoken more than 40 times. At the same time there are speakers of the Central Committee who have skipped more than half of the political days. This cannot be called anything but an underestimation of the importance of political education work.

There are also managers who try to dictate to the party gorkoms and raykoms the dates of their short visits and who plan to solve a mass of other problems on the political day. And it turns out that the meeting with the labor collective is like something done in passing, which is secondary in nature. Naturally, with this kind of haste there is simply no time left for becoming familiar with the collective and speaking with the people, not to mention receiving citizens to discuss their personal problems. Typically, such managers, as a rule, speak only in organizations under the jurisdiction of their own departments.

Many unutilized reserves lie hidden in conducting days of the open letter, and organizing presentations from management workers in the press and on television and radio. We are speaking about the need for careful preparation, in-depth development of the subject, improvement of the selection of competent authors, and knowledge of the local situation. Only with the observance of these conditions is it possible to guarantee that the presentations will be timely and effective.

As the political fighter for the party, the party, soviet and Komsomol worker as well as the executive should be good teachers and psychologists, should display vigilance, tact and mastery at persuading people, and should instill in them the readiness and the internal need to participate actively in the new life. It is precisely toward this that the decree of the CPSU Central Committee orients party organizations of the republic.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee points out that the most important task of the republic party organization is to strengthen the class education of the workers. This means, above all, that party committees and organizations in their propaganda should utilize better the glorious revolutionary history of the Estonian working class, its joint history with the Russian proletariat in their struggle against the tsarist autocracy for Soviet power in Estonia. Class education today means also the sacred memory of those who gave their lives liberating the republic from the German fascist oppressors 40 years ago. And it also means gratitude to the great Russian people and all the sister nations for their selfless assistance in postwar restoration of the national economy and the transformation of Estonia into a highly developed industrial republic.

The main content of the class education of the republic's population under modern conditions should be to affirm in their awareness the advantages of socialism, its patriotic and international education, and the strengthening of friendship among Soviet nations.

It must also be taken into account that the complex of these issues reflect the fact that Soviet authority is fairly young in Estonia and the awareness of some of the people is lagging behind the rapidly developing life. Forty years of socialist construction is a historically short period of time for forming a new social consciousness. And this is not only a theoretical problem. Party organizations have to deal with it in practical activity as well.

When arranging ideological and political work one can no longer fail to take into account the large-scale "psychological war" which is being unleashed by international imperialism against the countries of socialism, primarily against the USSR and particularly against our republics, with its attempts to influence the minds and hearts of the Soviet people. It is necessary to counteract these attempts with systematic, differentiated and varied organizational and educational work, and offensive counterpropaganda.

The aggravation of the antagonism between the two world systems requires further strengthening of party leadership of the Komsomol and the entire matter of education of youth and activation of its participation in solving the problems facing our republic. We should constantly be concerned about increasing the role of the party nucleus in the activity of the republic Komsomol organization. Today each one of our 6,500 young communists in the republic should recall that work in the Komsomol is a responsible party assignment and should carry it out honorably.

The tasks of the republic party organization for implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Further Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Increasing Its Role in Communist Education of Youth," were

recently discussed at the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. It will now be necessary to conduct plenums of party committees and meetings of local party organizations at which they will have to earmark concrete measures for strengthening the leadership of Komsomol organizations. Here it is necessary to achieve unwavering implementation in practice of the requirements of the party concerning constant communication between party managers and youth and active participation of communists and management personnel in the communist education of the younger generation.

The more complicated the problems that will have to be solved by the party organizations, the more persistently and purposively they must act. A harmonious combination of international and national, even in the state of perfection of developed socialism, is not established of its own accord. Even now internationalists are not born, they are developed.

Under modern conditions the attitude of the manager-communists toward problems of internationalism is an indicator of his true devotion to the party. It is precisely on firm patriotic and internationalist foundations that the highest qualities of the Soviet man are synthesized--his ideological conviction, his devotion to the cause of communism and the friendship of nations, and his constant readiness to strengthen the might of his socialist homeland. Therefore the internationalist education of people must be conducted persistently, in organic combination with the patriotic education, forming a high sense of a unified family and an awareness of belonging to the Country of the Soviets. Management personnel are obligated to systematically master the experience of economic and educational activity that has been accumulated in other union republics and extensively inform the population of the achievements of the multinational culture of the peoples of the USSR.

The measures devoted to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Estonian SSR from the fascist oppressors and the awarding of the First Degree Order of the Patriotic War to the city of Tallinn contributed greatly to further improvement of the ideological and political education of the workers. In cities and rayons and labor collectives everywhere these festivities merged into a brilliant demonstration of the limitless devotion and close solidarity of all workers of the republic around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee, the Politburo of the Central Committee headed by general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The festivities devoted to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Estonian SSR from the fascist oppressors evoked a new surge of labor and political activity among the workers of the republic and the veterans of the Great Patriotic War and contributed to strengthening the patriotic and internationalist education of the younger generation. Now the party gorkoms and raykoms, the ministries and departments, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations must exert all efforts in order to reinforce what has been achieved and to develop it further in preparation for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee focused the attention of party organizations on the need to strengthen the offensive nature of propaganda and agitation and to improve counterpropaganda. In order to carry out these tasks in the republic, during the time that has passed since the plenum a number of practical measures have been taken to improve counterpropaganda work and to develop an irreconcilable attitude toward ideologically alien phenomena as well as to increase the role of local party organizations in the fight against our exposure to bourgeois ideology. A certain system has taken form for working with ideological personnel who handle questions of counterpropaganda.

Questions of fighting against crime and drunkenness in the republic should be discussed separately. They were recently discussed by the republic party aktiv, and concrete measures were developed for fighting against these negative phenomena. As was noted at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, legal protection agencies of the republic are still slow in restructuring their work, and they are not achieving any appreciable reduction of the crime rate. The fight against drunkenness in the republic is being waged poorly.

It is quite obvious that administrative measures alone cannot solve the problem. If party committees and organizations are not able to motivate the public, and above all the labor collectives, there will be no essential result. The main thing that must be done now is to mobilize the public and to shift the center of gravity of the fight against legal violations to the basic units of our society--the labor collectives.

Many managers and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are apparently not yet psychologically ready for such a statement of the problem. Therefore they must make some radical changes. Even on the personal plane some of the managers must take a critical look at themselves. It should be stated frankly that we still have managers who abuse alcohol themselves, appear among people in an intoxicated condition and, moreover, get behind the wheel of an automobile in a condition of alcoholic intoxication. Recently, for example, the former director of the Kuremaas Sovkhoz-Technicum, E. Syeyet, who ran over a man while he was drunk, was expelled from the party and held criminally liable. It is also no secret that we have many parties on work premises and even in work stations where alcohol is abused. And this is quite inadmissible.

When organizing the implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the party gorkoms and raykoms and the local party organizations are obligated to sharply step up the fight against hooliganism, drunkenness, theft of socialist property, moneygrubbing and other violations of the law. And everyone must begin this immediately.

It should be especially emphasized that the ideological and moral image of the manager and his personal example constitute a most important factor in strengthening the ties between the party and the masses, the sociopolitical unity of our society. As is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, people look at the manager as a person who is trusted to represent

the party and the state. He is in view everywhere. And each hour life verifies his right to hold a management position.

Trusting in sincere relations between the manager and his subordinates, and his authority are truly verified only when people see in him a model of business efficiency, adherence to party principles, honor and uprightness. In the republic we have many managers who are characterized by competence, the ability to attract people, and a combination of true adherence to party principles and delicacy. Of special value is the fact that many of them not only provide an example of a conscientious attitude toward business and are concerned about improving the conditions for the life and labor of the people, but also constantly communicate with them at work, in the dormitories, during various mass cultural measures and sports competitions, during the time when people's militia are on duty, and in family celebrations. Here they always proceed from the idea that they are representatives of the party and political workers.

It was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that every manager should constantly keep in mind his high responsibility to the people whom he has been trusted to lead and to the party and the nation. It is precisely these kinds of managers, recognized production commanders and skillful educators of people in the republic that the following people have a right to be called: the director of the Sewing Association imeni V. Klementi, L. Allika, the minister of local industry, V. Veskiyali, the director of the Krengol'mskaya Manufaktura Cotton Fabric Combine, O. Klushin, the rector of Tartu State University, A. Koop, the chairman of the 9 Maya Kolkhoz in Paydeskiy Rayon, E. Liyeberg, the director of the Tartu Experimental Demonstration Sovkhoz, Kh. Parik, the first secretary of the Paydeskiy Party Raykom, V. Roosmaa, the minister of the timber and wood processing industry, V. Chernyshev, and many others. They inherently display initiative, competence, business efficiency, the ability to hold council with people, to listen to their opinion, and to be concerned about them, and also personal modesty.

But, unfortunately, far from all managers are capable of combining official and personal authority, of correctly balancing their rights and responsibilities, and of serving as a model of moral purity and orderliness. We know of cases in which individual managers abuse their job positions and try to furnish their apartments at state expense and violate the policy for distributing housing.

Of course every violation like this should be evaluated according to party principle. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia has brought a number of managers to strict party liability. But certain party committees still take a liberal attitude toward such acts. There are frequent cases in which the local party organization is not even notified that the communist manager has been punished by the higher party agency.

The party gorkoms and raykoms must resolutely refrain from the offensive practice whereby the personal affairs of the manager are considered directly at the bureau, bypassing the local party organization. This contradicts the CPSU Charter and the principle of democratic centralism.

Under modern conditions as never before the role of business qualities of the political manager is increasing--competence, education and erudition, a broad world view, and the ability to solve economic and social problems skillfully and concretely. But among these undoubtedly necessary qualities of the manager one should especially single out one: modesty.

Modesty has always made a person look better, especially a manager. Unfortunately, in the republic there are still many managers who strive for prestige in daily life. Most frequently these management workers exhibit both arrogance and condescension. It is clear that one cannot put up with such an attitude toward people. It is the direct duty of party committees to eradicate any manifestations of condescension, red tape and arrogance, and to resolutely get rid of irresponsible workers who have no initiative and who are inclined, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "to replace business with talk, work with discussions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 201).

The immense responsibility for instilling in personnel the qualities of a political leader lies with the local party organizations who are called upon to be concerned about their growth, and to render them effective assistance in increasing their political training and mastering the skills of educational work with people. At the same time it is the local party organizations who should be primarily responsible for showing the manager his mistakes and, if necessary, publicly, and they must, in a party way, demand from him an answer for his deeds, and for his failure to fulfill his direct duty--being an educator of the masses.

It goes without saying that very high demands are placed on management personnel and their activity is evaluated on a high ideological and moral scale. They must not only teach people, but also learn from them, they must confirm everywhere and in everything the principle of social justice, they must attentively take criticism into account, and they must engage in direct and open dialogue with the masses. Indifference to people's opinion, haughtiness and loose morals are incompatible with the position of the manager.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko said in a meeting with the voters, "A manager can be demanding of others because he is demanding of himself. This gives him, in addition to his official right, a moral right to be firm in those cases when it is better, as they say, 'not to waste words on trivia, where it is necessary to use authority.'"

We only speak of the qualities of a manager. We must emphasize that under today's conditions it is exceptionally important to develop new economic thinking in personnel. Its most important components are creative initiative and socialist enterprisingness, purposiveness and persistence, the ability to take reasonable risk, and the ability to ensure fulfillment of the plans under any conditions. Such a statement of the issue ensues directly from the main criterion for evaluating the activity of the management worker, which always has been and still is the concrete results.

To skillfully utilize the rich arsenal of means, forms and methods of organizational and ideological work in order to mobilize the labor collectives for comprehensive intensification of production, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, implementation of the Food and Energy programs, and early fulfillment of the plans for 1984 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole--this is what we must see as the direct duty of party committees, local party organizations and management personnel at all levels. It is required that they organize the friendly work of people and maintain that businesslike atmosphere which has been established recently.

Each day the 11th Five-Year Plan comes closer to the finish, and preparations for the next, the 27th CPSU Congress are becoming more and more active. This lends special significance to the organizational and political work of the party organizations and managers.

In carrying out the serious tasks set for the republic's economy, it is important to utilize more fully the large reserves of which lie in socialist competition and to actively utilize the nationwide preparation for a worthy greeting for the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement for achieving high production indicators and improving the education of the workers. The most favorable possibilities for this are created by the development of the brigade form of organization and stimulation of labor. Success of the socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Victory depends largely on party, trade union and Komsomol organizations as well as economic managers.

Party organizations should in all ways support and develop the initiative of the workers, even more closely relate ideological and organizational work to solving concrete national economic problems and, as Lenin taught, proceed further and achieve more. We have all the necessary conditions for this.

The labor collectives of the enterprises and farms of the republic are supporting with deeds the party appeal to struggle for a 1-percent above-plan increase in labor productivity and the reduction of production costs by a half a percent. Thus during 9 months of this year industry sold 64 million rubles' worth of products in excess of the plan. And these were mainly consumer goods. The entire increase in output was achieved exclusively as a result of increasing labor productivity.

Agricultural workers have achieved good results. During 9 months they sold the state 13 percent more cattle and poultry and 6 percent more milk than during the same period last year. The harvest is complete, and it was one of the best in recent years. This made it possible to overfulfill the plan for delivery of grain to the state. The potato harvest also promises to be high. The overall plan for procurements of coarse feeds was also fulfilled, which will provide for an abundant wintering for the cattle.

Construction, transportation and communication workers have worked fairly well. Behind all the results there are great efforts of labor collectives and the purposive work of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic managers. The overall strengthening of discipline and organization have also had a positive effect.

We now have before us many urgent and important affairs and, as K. U. Chernenko said in his speech at the anniversary plenum of the Board of the USSR Writers Union, "Creativity of labor and a creative approach to jobs should today be a distinguishing feature of each member of the intelligentsia--of each scientist or engineer, teacher or doctor. Of course this is also true of every worker, every kolkhoz worker, every person who works honorably and conscientiously on behalf of the flourishing of our great homeland."

Party organizations and economic managers must devote more attention to solving complicated problems of intensive development of the economy and, on the basis of this, provide for more complete satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the population, achieve good organization in all units of management, and create all necessary conditions for the development of the initiative and creativity of the masses and their active involvement in solving the key problems of public life. It is precisely toward this that the republic party organization and managers of all levels are directed by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Participation of Management Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political and Educational Work Among the Workers."

The report and election campaign in the lower levels of the republic party organization ended recently. It took place in an organized way, in a situation of efficiency and adherence to principles, with high attendance and activity of the communists. In the discussion of the reports in the local and shop party organizations more than one-third of the registered communists spoke, and in the party groups--almost three-fourths. The participants in the report and election meetings concentrated most of their attention on the root problems of the activity of local party organizations and their lower levels and management agencies in practical implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. In a businesslike and concrete way they analyzed the results of the work that had been done, generalized the experience that had been accumulated, revealed shortcomings and unutilized possibilities, and earmarked the tasks for the future.

The reports and elections showed that the ideological activity of the local party organizations in the republic are becoming more goal-oriented, they are relying more actively on the economic and social policy of the CPSU, and they are working better to carry it out. At all meetings they discussed the tasks and noted the concrete measures for implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Participation of Management Personnel of the Estonian SSR in Political and Educational Work Among the Workers." Here they relied mainly on strengthening lively educational work of the managers directly in the labor collectives.

Special mention should be given to the businesslike participation in the current report and election campaign on the part of managers of higher party agencies, ministries and departments of the republic. They have participated in more than 1,200 meetings of local party organizations and their lower levels. The experience of the participation of managers of all levels in

party meetings and other measures in the lower party units and in the labor collectives should be reinforced and developed further in the practice of daily party work.

The businesslike, practical mood of the report and election campaign which has just come to an end and the discussion of the tasks ensuing from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee in plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms and party meetings in local organizations show that communists of the republic, having received the decree of the party Central Committee as a militant program of action, are doing everything possible in order to greet the next, 26th CPSU Congress with new successes in the development of the national economy and culture, in the political and educational work among the workers of Soviet Estonia.

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CSO: 1800/149

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REVIEW STATE PLAN

GF261143 Yerevan SOVETAN AYASTAN in Armenian 6 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers session reviewed the results of the 1984 Armenian SSR economic and social development state plan and the 1984 state budget.

It was pointed out that thanks to the improvement of the organizational work for the realization of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and the large-scale implementation of the socialist emulation, the basic targets of the 1984 plan have been fulfilled or overfulfilled. The industrial output sales annual plan has been fulfilled by 102.3 percent and the industrial production volume plan was fulfilled by 103 percent. The plan for the production of public consumer goods has been overfulfilled by 3.6 percent. The proportion of the highest quality category goods stood at 20.4 percent.

The denominators of production efficiency have improved. In industry, labor productivity increased by 4.4 percent. The target for the basic and additional reduction of output prime cost has been fulfilled.

The plan for the development of transport and communications has been fulfilled. Considerable volumes of construction work have been carried out. Compared to 1983, capital investments in the national economy have increased by 4.6 percent, the volume of construction and installation work has grown by 8.1 percent, and the commissioning of fixed capital has increased by 2.8 percent.

Measures have been realized to raise the social and cultural standard of the people, which have helped bring about the increase of real income per capita and public consumer funds. The fulfillment of the basic plan for retail commodities turnover has been ensured. The targets for the development of the chain of establishments of public consumer services, health care, and culture have been basically ensured.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers pointed out that not all of the republic's ministries and departments are displaying the appropriate stringency toward the leaders of enterprises and structures in the undeviated fulfillment of the plans and the further development of positive processes revealed in the republic's economy. A number of ministries and departments

have not fulfilled the obligations for delivery of output and questions are not being solved quickly on the radical restructuring of the work of the enterprises, in order to produce an output of improved quality and to ensure their necessary variety.

Capital investments have not been used fully, the plan for the commissioning of fixed capital has not been fulfilled, and all the important measures for the introduction of modern technology has not been realized. A number of ministries and departments have not ensured the fulfillment of the socialist obligations for increasing labor productivity and reducing the prime cost of output, and have not fully used the capabilities for raising production efficiency and forming a strong cost-conscious and economic regime.

Taken as a whole, in spite of the overfulfillment of the gross agricultural output volume plan in the republic, the annual plan in public sector farms has been underfulfilled by 6.3 percent. Due to the disadvantageous weather conditions the fulfillment of the targets for the accumulation of all types of feed has not been ensured. The farms have not been sufficiently ensured with long-life grass seeds. Compared to 1983 figures animal deaths have increased.

The session pointed out that last year the shortcomings in the work organization of the enterprises and, as before, above normal interruptions in transport by trailer, have been permitted.

Serious shortcomings were also pointed out in the work of the other branches of the republic's national economy.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers urged the leaders of the ministries and departments to be guided by the 15 November 1984 decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the instructions and evaluations in the speech by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered at that session, as well as the decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenums, and establish and realize measures for the undeviated fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan targets and the socialist obligations undertaken by the labor collectives for 1985. They should take into account the reinforcement and multiplication of the positive shifts made in recent years in the economic development field, to welcome in a worthwhile way the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the great paternal war, to conclude the current five-year plan period successfully, and to create a strong basis for the 12th Five-Year Plan period.

During the fulfillment of that work it is necessary to continue paying attention to the large introduction of scientific and technical achievements, to the improvement of the use of production capabilities, equipment, and labor resources, and the perfection of labor productivity and output through the improvement of organization of work.

It is essential to ensure the balanced operation of the associations, enterprises, and organizations throughout the year, to strictly fulfill the

contractual obligations regarding delivery of goods, to fulfill the targets for saving material resources without reservation, and to defend in all locations the initiative of labor collectives to work for 2 days using saved substances, materials, and fuel in 1985.

The republic's government urged the ministries and departments to improve the provision of the population with industrial goods and services and to more fully satisfy the purchasers' requirements regarding high quality goods. It is essential to pay particular attention to the fulfillment of capital investment plans and to the commissioning of production capabilities and social and cultural projects.

It is necessary to further raise the management standard of enterprises and associations, to improve work methods, to create the necessary economic and organizational conditions to develop the creativity of the workers, and to strengthen discipline in all public locations.

The session was addressed by F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 1838/39

REGIONAL

EFFORTS TO STEM URAL RIVER POLLUTION DESCRIBED

PM111133 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 85 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent G. Sazonov report under the rubric "Man and Nature": "Keep on Rolling Forever, Ural!"--first paragraph is a PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] We continue our journey along one of our largest rivers, marking the border between two parts of the world--Europe and Asia. Our previous report (PRAVDA, 15 January) spoke of the upper reaches of the Ural and the inadequate protection of the small rivers which are its beginning. Today we talk about the river in its middle course, where its flow provides water for the population and enterprises in major industrial centers.

Orenburg Oblast--It was like a spring day. Prokudin made his way down along the river bank, disheveled by the fast-flowing high water. He scooped up some greenish water and decanted it from the palm of one hand into the other, as if trying to assess its worth. It was no idle curiosity that took him there. Behind him, smoke was pouring out of the industrial rubber products plant, where Nikolay Andreyevich was recently appointed deputy chief production engineer for protection of the environment. Life had made this appointment necessary.

The industrial rubber products plant is one of hundreds located in the Ural basin. For a long time the river has been part of people's economic activity, providing them with drinking water and food. As the cities grew and rural areas developed, water consumption increased sharply and is steadily growing. A sensible approach to the river's utilization is required.

"Extirpate shortcomings more fastidiously than any inspector," were the plant director's instructions to Prokudin at their first meeting. "The administration will back you."

Real concern must be shown to keep the reservoirs clean--this was what the new deputy chief production engineer tried to impress on chiefs of shops and services. He even had to fight some of them. His initiative resulted in the introduction of shop activity evaluation according to the "environmental protection" indicator. Bonuses for leaders and engineering and technical personnel were cancelled if the permissible norms were exceeded.

Fuel oil waste remained the chief scourge for a long time. They decided to call on scientists and designers. An experimental installation to render harmless the discharged fuel oil sludge was developed in conjunction with them. Now the viscous fluid, which was previously dumped in the Ural, is collected in sumps and burned in the ovens. And this is actually beneficial--the heat is used to generate steam for industrial use.

Communist Prokudin proved himself just as energetic in building a water recycling system. When the builders encountered obstructions, he was knocking on all doors--the management and the party and soviet organs, for the sake of environmental protection. By the start of the current 5-year plan the plant had reduced by a factor of 10 its discharges into the Sakmara River, a tributary of the Ural, and once the second stage of purification installations was commissioned it was practically operating a closed cycle.

Nikolay Andreyevich proudly showed these installations--an entire factory with interconnected shops, fitted out with electronic equipment. After several stages, the cloudy water becomes blue again and goes back to "work" in the shops. Order has also been imposed in the plant as regards its industrial waste sewers. And now the plant is no longer accused of polluting the Ural River.

But Prokudin is not sitting back. Right next door is a plant producing silica wall materials. It is linked up with the main services lines of the industrial rubber products plant and uses the water the latter has purified in its own technological cycle. At one point Prokudin observed that the neighbors were discharging harmful waste into the Sakmara River. But the silica plant's chief power engineer persisted:

"No, it's not our waste..."

He was forced to take matters up with old friends in the South Ural Basin Administration.

'So, they don't want to admit their guilt," P. Blednykh, chief of Orenburg's hydrochemical laboratory, sighed.

The walls in P. Blednykh's office are lined with charts. Multicolor bars reflect the extensive work done in Orenburg Oblast to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on preventing the pollution of the Volga and Ural River Basins with effluents. Under the oblast party organization's leadership, the enterprises' collectives have commissioned over 200 purification systems.

Thanks to man's concern, the Ural River is breathing more freely. Now it is one of the cleanest rivers in the country. For a number of years now phenols have not been discharged into its waters. Oxygen content readings are normal. Anglers are catching ide [yaz] and pike-perch in the middle section of the river. But it is too soon to relax the efforts....

Over the last few years industrial sewage in Orsk, Orenburg Oblast's major industrial center, has been channeled basically into large water purification installations. But the "Yuzhuralnikel" Plant, the "Yuzhuraltsvetmetobrabotka"

Production Association, and others are still discharging inadequately purified sewage into the Ural. Now and again the South Ural machine building plant fires "salvos" of petroleum products into the Yelshanka River, a small tributary of the Ural. It is true that the "Orskpromstroy" Trust is building centralized purification installations for the plant. At such a pace, however, that the handover deadline has long passed and the end of construction is not yet in sight. It has been difficult to find someone to place the order for the construction of their second phase. Orenburg Oblispolkom has not taken a clear enough stance on this issue. Similar questions are awaiting solution at enterprises in Mednogorsk, Gay, and Kuvandyk.

A necklace of large and small villages, some founded too long ago to remember and others recently appeared, extends along the river: The fertile soil and the proximity of water attracts them. Arable farming and stockraising are developed intensively on the river banks. That is gratifying. But in recent years some stockraising complexes have become sources of river pollution. Local organs have obliged farms to construct cleansing installations. And they have appeared in many places. We should be pleased. But the majority of installations are standing idle and the funds invested have failed to produce a return. Why? The main reason is that there have been no trained specialists to service them.

Last May an oblispolkom session stated that the cleansing installations were not in operation on a number of farms of Orenburgskiy and Belyayevskiy Rayons. What happened after that? Is it not time the specific culprits were found and called to account?

Here is another detail. The level of the Ural used to be higher. This is admitted by scientists, specialists, and local inhabitants. Different reasons are given for the fall in water levels. One thing is clear: More water is being drawn from the Ural. Over a 20-year period this indicator in Orenburg Oblast has risen from 1 to 5 million cubic meters per 24 hours. If we add the neighboring oblasts in Kazakhstan, the resulting figure is even greater.

"We are concerned with the lack of a general plan for the rational utilization of water in the river basin," A. Balandin, first secretary of Orenburg CPSU Obkom and head of the interrepublic social committee for the Ural, noted. "The result is that many localities use water to suit their own requirements. This can hardly be described as normal. The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the central planning organs must resolve more quickly the question of instituting uniform water utilization norms."

Gravel and sand are extracted from the river. Dams are built along its tributaries without authorization. Decisions banning such works have been made repeatedly. But the instructions are by no means obeyed everywhere. Not all enterprises have installed instruments to control their water consumption. In actual fact, only a limited quantity of such instruments is produced. The lack of control costs millions of cubic meters of water wasted.

We must think not only of ourselves but also of our offsprings. Hence, measures have been planned to transfer the region's industrial centers to a system of effluent-free water supply. Work is in progress on their implementation.

Over 96 percent of the water used by the collective of the Orsk-Khalilovo Metallurgical Combine is recycled. Last year alone the sum of R3 million was spent there for water purification purposes. The agglomeration, by-product coke, and electrical steel smelting production processes have already transferred to effluent-free operations. The Novotroitsk combine and the city have practically no adverse effect on the Ural River. Director V. Yesakov reported that designers are starting work on installations which will enable the entire combine to transfer to effluent-free water consumption. This is, of course, a pleasing innovation. Nevertheless, the original specific deadline for transfer to this system has already passed. Meanwhile, there are no finalized design blueprints, and construction work is still to come. The transfer of the Orenburg industrial center to effluent-free operations must also be speeded up.

A major enterprise—Magnitka—stands on the banks of the Ural. I Borodatyy, chief of the South Ural River Basin Administration, spoke of how much people in Magnitogorsk have done to purify the river waters. The proportion of recycled water used at the combine is high. Previously it was impossible to swim in the water reservoir, which lies within the city limits. Now thousands of people enjoy their leisure there. But part of the cleansed effluent does flow into the Ural, and there are instances of waste finding its way into the river. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce effluent-free water consumption more quickly, and everywhere. But the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is delaying over resolving this question.

...So, what was the outcome of Prokudin's application to the hydrochemical laboratory? He found support. The leaders of the silica wall materials plant were fined. Measures were taken to ensure that the reservoir is not polluted in the future.

CSO: 1800/180

REGIONAL

SOVETSKAYA LITVA PUBLISHING PLANS FOR 1985

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by A. Gel'bakh: "'Critically, Interestingly, Energetically', A Survey of Answers to 'SOVETSKAYA LITVA-85' Questionnaire"]

[Text] First about the headline. "Write critically, interestingly, energetically!" -- this desire is encountered most often in the answers to a questionnaire sent back to the editorial staff. Now allow me to cite a few generalized figures. More than a hundred of our readers responded to the request of the newspaper to express their opinions and desires. The absolute majority of them noted that they are basically satisfied with the content and format of SOVETSKAYA LITVA. But, of course, they also found deficiencies and gave their recommendations and observations.

We have entered a year of active preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress. Taking the desires of the readers into account, the editorial staff will continue its active efforts to improve its publications, which are devoted to the course of the nation-wide socialist competition for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan and for a fitting celebration and reception of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the all-Union forum of the party. A portrayal of the struggle of the labor collectives for thrift and economy and improving the productivity of labor and the quality of manufactured goods will be given an important position in the materials. The party is making an appeal for rational management, and with the help of a broad group of active writers we are making every effort to disclose the manner in which this appeal can be transformed into reality in the production associations, in enterprises and on farms, and at each job site.

In the future also much attention will be given in the pages of SOVETSKAYA LITVA to the large-scale economic experiment in which many enterprises from various economic sectors in the republic are participating. Under contemporary conditions in which the task of achieving a radical turning point by the end of the 1980s has been set forth with respect to improving the efficiency of the whole economy, the rapid implementation of the achievements of science and technology, promising inventions, and efficiency recommendations is of primary importance. The newspaper is proposing the publication of a series of articles in the Science and Industry section and will write about the creative

socialist competition among engineers, and how the primary party organizations are concerned about the industrial retooling of enterprises and the introduction of large-scale innovations, which will radically improve the productivity of labor.

The readers' questionnaires contain recommendations for continuing the competition for the best essay in the current year also. More attention in these articles will be given to revealing the best character traits of the Soviet man and writing about innovators, progressive production workers, the activities of party and Soviet workers, economic leaders, and conscientious workers in so-called humble professions. The editorial staff will try to carry out these wishes. Now that the important political campaign has begun with regard to the elections to the Supreme and local Soviets of People's Deputies in the republic, we are planning to publish a series of essays on people in whom workers have placed a high trust by nominating them as their candidates for the post of deputy. The newspaper will write about accomplishments and reforms in our life in special articles under the headings "From Elections to Elections" and "As the Elections Approach".

On the threshold of the 27th Party Congress SOVETSKAYA LITVA has introduced a new heading "The Party Committee -- An Organ of Political Leadership", which, as the questionnaires attest, has already attracted the attention of the readers. In this section the editorial staff intends to turn over its columns to a number of first secretaries of raykoms in the Communist Party of Lithuania and to talk with directors of large industrial associations and kolkhozes and the secretaries of party committees in enterprises about the political leadership of the economy, problems concerning the ideological and moral education of workers, and about raising the awareness of the broad masses of people.

These are those plans which are already being accomplished in the pages of the newspaper. But they are in need of more precise definition and improvement. In the questionnaires sent back the readers note that the editorial staff sometimes is not very demanding with respect to publication of articles written by leading party, trade union, and industrial workers. They are frequently shallow and over-saturated with figures and percentages of a self-evident nature. And little is said in them about the peculiarities of style and methods of work and what is said is unconvincing. Complaints have also been expressed about articles throwing light on the practice of ideological work.

Taking these observations into consideration the editorial staff is reorganizing its work. In the pages of the newspaper we will try to discuss urgent questions relating to the improvement of the vanguard role of Communists and primary party organizations under contemporary conditions and we will give more attention to the preparation and publication of articles which discuss an overall approach to the problems of education and the unity of ideological, economic, and organizational work. The newspaper will make its pages available to the best propagandists and agitators for statements and speeches and will relate the experience of implementing the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The editorial staff also plans to conduct political debates devoted to the adoption of a new edition of the CPSU Program at the 27th Congress.

As before, much space in the pages of the newspaper will be occupied by the subject of military-patriotic education and materials devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory in World War II. SOVETSKAYA LITVA will continue to publish the pages entitled "I Serve the Soviet Union" and "Progress of the People's War". Articles recounting the revolution in the years 1905--1907, the revolutionary movement in Lithuania, and preparations for the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet rule in the republic are an important part of the plans of the editorial staff.

Many questionnaires call the discussions "Behind the Round Table", "Open Letter Days", and "Business Meeting Clubs" a great achievement for the newspaper. Judging by the basically unanimous evaluations received, these types of format have won the lasting approval of our readers. We will try to develop them in the future also. The permanent headings of SOVETSKAYA LITVA, "Satire", "Time, People, Ethics", "Saturday Discussion", and "Our Interlocutor", are also highly appreciated. Although the readers had definite complaints about the latter two columns, they want to see them written more often by authors from among leading public figures in culture and science, responsible party and Soviet workers, and distinguished workers and kolkhoz members. The readers are expressing a desire that these materials be published together with portraits of their authors. Indeed, in a confidential discussion it is not only important to know, but also to see with whom you are talking. The editorial staff will willingly fulfill these desires.

The evaluation given in the questionnaires concerning the work of the newspaper with respect to mail from the readers is worthy of special attention. The overwhelming majority considers that it is being conducted in a satisfactory manner. But, in the opinion of many of our authors, topical reviews of letters are still rarely seen in the pages of the newspaper and materials under the heading "Minister Comments on Letter" (director, chairman of a trade union committee -- depending on the question posed) should be published more often. And here is yet another suggestion which the editorial staff must carry out without fail. "A heading called 'Letter Withdrawn from Review' is necessary in SOVETSKAYA LITVA," writes an author from Kaunas. "But if one looks at or reads through readers' letters published over a quarter or a year at one time, it turns out that people write to the newspaper about one and the same thing: about the inattention, callousness, deception and red tape involved in dealing with individual public servants. Moreover, these messages frequently come from the same places, same enterprises, and same sectors of the economy. I think the newspaper must simply analyze this mail and the official answers received no less than once in a quarter, publish reviews in which the question of holding bureaucrats and formalists responsible is posed with all the authority of the party, and ensure that such responsibility be assumed without fail."

Various evaluations regarding one and the same headings, topical pages, and individual materials are sometimes encountered in the questionnaires. To some readers it seems that it is necessary to publish more articles on the education of youth and to others it seems that little space is given to such a column heading as "Advice to the Housewife". Some consider each issue of the weekly section "Physical Training and Sports" to be very interesting. Others

prefer "Our House, Our Family". Certain authors simply find themselves in a difficult spot. While giving a generally positive evaluation of the newspaper's editorial staff, they share the following thought: "Everything seems to be all-right with you. But one gets the feeling that something is still missing. Perhaps, humor?" Indeed, this could very well be so. But we hope to rectify this problem if we receive support from you, dear readers.

Write about what concerns and worries people, write brilliantly and emotionally about conscientious workers and about those who take the initiative and work like shock workers and disclose and disseminate their experience. Come out angrily against disorder and a negligent attitude toward the task at hand, strive to adopt specific measures regarding each critical statement -- this is the advice and demand of all our readers. And the editorial staff will be tirelessly guided by this in our daily work in the coming year.

105/6

CSO: 1800/154

REGIONAL

UZBEK ECONOMIST ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Jan 85 pp 2,3

[Article by M. Sharifkhodzhayev, Honored Scientist of the Uzbek SSR, professor: "The Key Task of Economic Development"]

[Excerpts] As K. U. Chernenko stresses, the decisive area of all work to improve the development of socialism has been and remains further development of the economy, the transition to intensification of production, and rational and efficient use of labor and material resources. This is the element in party economic strategy and in the development of socialist production with which the Soviet people can successfully resolve the multifaceted set of socioeconomic problems involved in steadily improving the economy and culture and developing and consolidating the socialist way of life.

Practical fulfillment of the tasks of consistent intensification demands further development of production forces and refinement of production relations. It presupposes solutions to a broad range of issues related to eliminating all kinds of losses, rational use of natural, labor, material, and financial resources, stepping up scientific-technical progress, introduction of complete mechanization and flexible automated production facilities and systems, re-equipping enterprises with a new generation of equipment and technology, use of robots and computers in production and economic management, introduction of no-waste and energy-conserving technology, producing materials with predetermined characteristics, development of bioengineering, and on this basis attaining the highest level in the world for labor productivity and production of output and securing a sharp improvement in all the other indicators of the socioeconomic efficiency of production.

Guided by the decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the party organizations of Uzbekistan worked out and are successfully implementing a comprehensive program to put the economy on an intensified footing and switch production associations and enterprises to a new, higher level of technical and economic development. The importance of meeting this challenge is illustrated by figures on the consolidation of the republic's economic potential and the enlargement of its role in the country's unified national economic complex. Uzbekistan today has more than 1,750 operating production and science-production associations, combines, and enterprises in more than 100 industrial sectors.

In their work to resolve the issues of intensive use of this economic potential the party organizations of the republic are concentrating their attention on introduction of the latest scientific and technical advances in production and fully converting science into a direct production force. They are insuring preferential production of highly efficient equipment, instruments, and means of automation and a transition from building individual machines to development and introduction of machine lines which encompass the entire industrial process and make it possible to completely mechanize and automate production and raise labor productivity.

At the same time, as the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party emphasized, some party organizations and labor collectives in the republic do not always consistently follow the policy of developing scientific-technical progress and introducing the key advances in automation, electronics, and cybernetics and progressive industrial processes into production. Little attention is given to improving the material-technical base of production to provide a foundation for a significant reduction in the sphere of application of unskilled manual and heavy labor and an improvement in working conditions.

The proportion of manual labor at some enterprises in the republic is 45-50 percent. It was this, plus the increase in the absolute number of persons employed in manual labor, that caused the increase in total volume of industrial production at a number of ministries, enterprises, and associations to increase to a certain degree through the use of extensive factors, while for industry as a whole the growth rate of production in 1984 was only 3.1 percent compared to the planned figure of 5.4 percent.

The socialist obligations of the working people of Uzbekistan for 1985 envisage increasing labor productivity by one percent more than planned, reducing the prime cost of output by an additional 0.5 percent below the plan, and exceeding plan figures for other indicators as follows: an additional 118 million rubles worth of material resources conserved; an additional five percent increase in the shift coefficient; full mechanization and automation of 215 more sections, shops, and production facilities; introduction of an additional 155 flow and automatic lines and 135 robot engineering units; and, switching 11,000 more persons from manual to mechanized labor.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko stresses, the tasks of raising the level of management of scientific-technical progress demand mobilization of organizational efforts and the material means necessary for "the earliest possible technical re-equipping of all sectors of the national economy and rapid incorporation of the most progressive technologies in production. This is a key challenge. To meet it means also to meet the challenge of intensification and raising the efficiency of the economy."

Meeting this demand will enable us to make maximum use of intensive methods of production, carry out qualitative changes in production, and thereby achieve good final results for the national economy.

It is not possible to solve the many different and complex problems of intensification of production without a corresponding improvement in the whole system

of the economic mechanism to bring it fully into line with the level of development of production forces and production relations. Comrade K. U. Chernenko stresses that active dissemination of the brigade contract, ever-broader introduction of cost accounting, increasing the independence and accountability of economic managers and labor collectives, and intensifying material and moral incentive are effective ways to raise labor productivity, reduce materials-intensiveness, and achieve good final quality indicators.

Under the conditions of our republic it is especially important to integrate the national, regional, and sectorial aspects of planning and management that promote intensification of and improved efficiency in production.

A high rate of growth in population and labor resources is an important regional feature of the republic. The Uzbek SSR figure for natural population growth is almost triple the USSR average. This necessitates rational and optimal use of labor resources. To solve this major sociopolitical and economic problem and raise the efficiency of the country's public production overall the following steps are essential: (1) make the fullest possible use of production potential by raising the shift coefficient of equipment (this indicator is 1.3 for the Uzbek SSR); (2) insure accelerated development of the labor-intensive sectors of industry, in particular machine building and light and food industry, with a sharp rise in the proportion of final output; (3) continue the policy of establishing branches and shops in small cities and in urban-type and rural communities; (4) step up the increase in nonagricultural employment of the population in the rural areas; (5) develop the sectors of the nonproduction sphere at a surpassing rate, for the level of their development is significantly below USSR averages; (6) -- and this is very important -- sharply increase the training of skilled workers, for one of the real contradictions in development of the republic's economy is the serious discrepancy between the level of skills training of labor cadres and their organization and discipline, on the one hand, and the contemporary technical and technological level of public production on the other.

Refinement of the economic mechanism should insure the transition of the economy to the intensive path of development, comprehensive use of the natural and economic resources of Uzbekistan, and accelerated introduction of scientific-technical advances and development of the initiative and creative activism of production collectives in working out and implementing steps to raise labor productivity and reduce the prime cost of output. These tasks are taking on special importance at the present time in connection with the formation of the above-plan economy fund at every enterprise and on the oblast, kray, and republic levels and with the socialist obligations of the working people -- to work two days in 1985 with economized raw and processed materials and fuel and to carry out a large-scale economic experiment.

A large majority of the labor collectives in the republic are striving to see that the person at every work position takes a conscious, highly responsible attitude toward his duty, works creatively, and uses machinery, equipment, and raw and processed materials economically. Suffice it to say that if in the current year an increase in the output-capital ratio of just one kopeck per ruble of production capital is achieved, on the scale of the republic this

will mean an additional 180 million rubles worth of output. It was emphasized at the 11th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR, 10th convocation, that strengthening state, plan, and financial discipline and rigorously following economy and thrift principles made it possible in 1984 to mobilize internal reserves worth 248 million rubles, and this amount was used chiefly to raise the standard of living of the working people.

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UZBEKISTAN'S INTERNAL LABOR DEMOGRAPHY PROBLEM

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by K. Nomerovanny, member of the USSR Union of Journalists: "The Dzhizak Steppe Awaits Its Conquerors"]

[Text] "Take steps toward rational use of labor resources and create conditions which promote resettlement of surplus population from densely populated oblasts and rayons to virgin land regions" -- from the decree of the 23rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party

It is a 10-hour train trip from Andizhan to Dzhizak. Outside the window you see cotton fields and kolkhoz settlements. All the way to Khavast it is as thickly settled as a city street.

A kolkhoz member's home flashes by. It has two well-built houses and numerous outbuildings, but no garden and no livestock quarters. Instead of animals there are two green Zhiguli's [cars] parked in the yard.

"The truth is that the farmer is being crowded in the Fergana Valley," I recalled being told in a recent conversation at the Andizhan Oblast party committee. They said that the population of the Fergana Valley had increased five times in 60 years. Andizhan Oblast, for example, has 358 persons per square kilometer. In Leninskiy Rayon the applications of kolkhoz members for land to be allocated for them to build homes for growing families lie unmet for years in the boards of directors of the kolkhozes. There are more and more such families in recent years. Some farms have less than a quarter of a hectare of arable public land per able-bodied kolkhoz member. Given such saturation and the high level of mechanization of field work, kolkhoz members lose their material incentive.

Oblast party and Soviet organs are devoting an enormous amount of attention to building branches of plants and factories and to the development of subsidiary industries in the rural areas. But the employment problem remains critical. Labor productivity is rising too slowly in the rural areas, and the prime cost of output is not going down fast enough.

At the same time major industrial construction projects and new cotton zones in the republic lack workers. As noted at the October 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, our country has 16 million hectares of irrigated and improved land which produces all the cotton and rice, 75 percent of the grain corn, and much other output. But one out of five farms has a cotton yield of less than 20 quintals a hectare. Too little feed is grown on irrigated land and the yields of grain and vegetable crops are low.

Uzbekistan has 3.7 million hectares of irrigated land, a large part of which is in the new cotton zones. Hundreds of millions of rubles have been spent to develop land, but there has been no substantial return. The necessary level of production has not been attained because of the shortage of people. At the same time the Fergana Valley has a labor surplus.

They say it is hard to get an Andizhaner to move. This is not exactly true. You can find people from Andizhan working on BAM [Baikal-Amur Mainline], in the Non-Chernozem region, laying gas pipelines, and building oilfields. Hundreds of families are also working on the new lands of the Dzhizak and Karshi steppes. Among them are Khursand Tursunov, the well-known organizer of agricultural production who is now the director of the Andizhan Sovkhoz, Rashid Abdurakhmanov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni XXV Parts"yezda in Zarbdarskiy Rayon, and others. They have left the settled regions and come, in families and sometimes even groups of families, at their own initiative, to conquer the Dzhizak Steppe.

The whole thing comes down to how the new settlers are met in the new place.

For example, take the farms in Zarbdarskiy Rayon. The rayon was established in 1979. It was developed by the incorporation of six cotton-growing sovkhozes. There are also orchard-farming and animal husbandry farms in the rayon, as well as the republic's oldest horse farm. Andizhaners have set up sponsorship relations with them. According to the plan, the rayon was supposed to produce 28,300 tons of cotton last year, or 13.2 quintals per hectare. The low yield there is not because of poor soil, but rather the lack of skilled and diligent laborers. For 795 square kilometers there are only 25,000 people, half of whom live in the rayon center.

Two hundred families of Andizhaners moved to the Sovkhoz imeni XXV Parts"yezda in May of 1984. This farm has already incorporated 4,100 hectares of arable land. The central buildings are very good compared to other farms in the rayon. They have a school, stores, and cultural-domestic facilities and are continuing to build housing.

Last fall several brigades and divisions headed by Andizhaners fulfilled their plans for cotton procurement and demonstrated complete mastery of working and watering the fields.

More than 1,000 families have come to Zarbdarskiy Rayon from Leninsk, Kurgantepe, Markhamat, Pakhtaabad, and Balykchinskiy, Andizhanskiy, and Moskovskiy rayons and are now employed in different sectors of production. Khursand Tursunov, director of the Andizhan Sovkhoz, relates:

"Early in the spring of 1983, 400 Andizhaners arrived. In the very first year we were able to increase cotton production by 2,100 tons. In 1982 the sovkhos had a loss of 2 million rubles, but in 1983 the farm's profit was 1.9 million rubles."

Khidoyatullo Akhmedov, secretary of the party organization at the Andizhan Sovkhoz and former chairman of the planning commission of the Leninsk City Executive Committee, adds to the director's story:

"The sovkhos has 63 communists and 106 Komsomol members. They are the backbone, and are settled firmly in the virgin lands. They set an example in labor. But..."

Here he sighs deeply:

"The new arrivals need, above all, a roof over their heads, a home for the family, and cultural-domestic conditions as good as those they had in the Fergana Valley. Our countrymen from the Andizhan MPMK [possibly "intergovernmental mobile mechanized column"] promised to build 5,000 square meters of housing for us back in 1983, but the buildings still have not been turned over for occupation."

The farm has 5,500 hectares of developed land, but employs only 600 people. There are 10 hectares per cotton farmer.

For many Andizhaners conquest of the Dzhizak Steppe has become the main cause in their life. There are great prospects, and work enough for more than one generation. There are also good conditions for leisure time there. What is the value of the Arnasayskiye Razlivy [Arnasay Freshets] alone! There is also room for hunters and fishermen, and for lovers of water sports. In addition there are six forestry enterprises, three preserves, and a national park.

But the main thing for now is work. The same Andizhan Sovkhoz has only its central buildings plus two small settlements and 9 divisions with one building or trailer apiece. For 70 cotton brigades they have just 21 field camps. The new lands look like desert; there are few trees.

There is no question that people ran into many difficulties at first -- poor domestic service and housing arrangements and inadequate mechanization of production. And at first newcomers tolerate all this. But only at first. If this is abused, the desire of people to move here may be extinguished. And it is not enough in this case simply to assign a person to new housing. Still more concern must be shown for him. Sponsorship obligations in this case must be carried out as a solemn duty.

The virgin land is waiting for immediate, effective help; it is waiting for direct participation by the farms of the Fergana Valley in meeting the challenges posed for the republic by the October Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

REGIONAL

BOOK ON ESTONIAN COMMUNIST PARTY REVIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 11, Nov 84 pp 135-137

[Review by T. T. Popov, candidate of historical science, of book "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Estonii v Tsifrakh (1920-1980)" [The Communist Party of Estonia in Figures (1920-1980)] Eesti raamat, Tallin, 1983, 310 pp]

[Text] Speaking of the successes of Great October and of the establishment of Soviet power in the provinces, V. I. Lenin remarked that if the revolution accomplished its work so rapidly "it was because we relied completely on the local elements, revealed the full scope of action to them, and in fact expected from the provinces the enthusiasm that generated the invincibility and the speed of action of our revolution".^{*}

Lenin's observations on the importance of local party organizations in strengthening and augmenting the leading role of the CPSU in the revolutionary transformation of society has taken on still greater importance at the stage of developed socialism. The 26th CPSU Congress noted the enormous role of local party organizations in strengthening the determination of the rank and file to solve the major problems of today. The CPSU Central Committee is constantly studying the state of affairs in the provinces, and on the basis of a comprehensive and thorough analysis it reaches conclusions of importance to all the party.

Also stemming from this is the need for constant study of the status of the party rank and file in the provinces. Local party organizations are devoting great attention to research on this topic. Evidence in particular of this is the article by A. A. Prutskiy "Party Life: Figures and Facts. (Digests of the Statistical Material of Local Party Organizations)", which was published in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS [QUESTIONS OF HISTORY OF THE CPSU] (No. 5 for 1984). The article properly noted that in recent years publications have contained much material revealing various aspects of the life of local CPSU organizations.

However it analyzed only data from a single decade — since 1970. Left unexamined are materials that to a considerable extent feature the

^{*} V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol. 45, p. 249.

establishment and development of local party organizations, including the Communist Party of Estonia /KPE/. The article only mentions the advisability of utilizing the work experience of this republic's party organization. However, the figures contained in the statistical digest of the KPE for 60 years clearly show that the KPE grew and developed on the basis of the principle of individual selection from the time of its origin, and that CPSU decrees were carried out regarding the regulation of party ranks and the assignment of communists in the most important areas of the building of socialism and communism.

The special features of this book and the existence of factors typifying the activity of the Communist Party under exceptional conditions are the grounds that make this work stand out. |

We note that the digest, which has come out in its first edition, includes the entire period from the moment of the birth of the Estonian Communist Party up to the present day (1920-1980).

The novelty and practical value of the digest further consist in the fact that it publishes for the first time material on the structure and numerical composition of the Union of the Estonian Region of the RSDRP /Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party/ before 1910. Also put into scholarly circulation are materials that reveal the activities of the party organizations of Estonian national units in the Red Army in the years of the Great Patriotic War. Although military communists were not part of the republic's party organization, they played a large role after demobilization in replenishing and strengthening its ranks.

The book employs a topical-chronological method that makes it possible to pick out the highlights of the party's establishment and development throughout the entire course of its history, and to follow the changes in its quantitative and qualitative makeup and in its organizational structure.

Serving as the documentary basis of the digest are statistical reports of primary party organizations, of rayon and municipal committees and of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Where statistical reports were lacking, the compilers used information from the minutes of party congresses, reports of mandate commissions and other documents.

One service of the compilers of the digest is the great amount of work done to come up with statistical data from the period of the Estonian bourgeois state, when the activities of communists were carried out under the strictest conspiratorial conditions. At that time party membership lists were not maintained, and party cards were not issued, which, naturally, complicated the work of the compilers of the digest. In 1940, after the legalization of the KPE, communists were issued party cards, and documents were produced that contained information on the numbers and activities of party members in the pre-revolutionary period. It is clear from these data that even under deep underground conditions party ranks

were being replenished. Where the party consisted of 690 members in June 1920, there were three times that many by early 1924 (see p. 37). In addition, the party organization contained many active members, who became the party's solid reserve.

The book also notes the special features of admission to the party in that period. Initially admission to the Estonian Communist Party was accomplished without passing through the candidate stage upon the recommendation of two communists regardless of their length of party membership. But in August 1940 the candidate stage was introduced, plus recommendations from three party members who had been party members for at least three years. With this procedure there was a considerable drop in the influx of new members into the ranks of the Communist Party of Estonia. Since there were few communists in the republic who had been party members for more than three years, in 1941 the Central Committee of the VKP(b) /All-Union Communist Party(Bolshevik)/ allowed recommendations from those who had been party members for at least six months, provided that they also knew the person recommended for at least six months (see p. 46). This helped to replenish the party's ranks. Where in January 1941 11 persons had been admitted to the party as candidate members, 145 were admitted in May (see p. 45).

The favorable conditions for party admission that were established for the ESSR were extended to Estonian national military units, which aided in setting up an abundance of organizations in combat units.

We cannot fail to note the unique conditions under which the republic's communist party was constituted. The Estonian party organization left the RKP(b). In June 1920 the Politburo of the RKP(b) Central Committee approved its direct entry into the Communist International. In November 1920 the first congress of that organization definitively confirmed the structure of the party and decided to call it the "Communist Party of Estonia — a Section of the Communist International."

In connection with the continual repression on the part of the authorities the composition of the communist party was changed. The major change took place in 1938, when a large number of communists were amnestied from prison by the bourgeois regime. In addition, the party ranks were considerably replenished through the admission of new members and by the return of communists from abroad. Since admission to the party was restricted in the late 1930s, there were considerably fewer young people in its ranks than in the 1920s. Seventy-seven percent of communists were between the ages of 30 and 50, and 22.5 percent of them were women (see pp. 35-36). This was the makeup of the republic's communist party on the eve of the revolution of 1940.

After the republic's liberation from the German Fascist occupiers, growth in the ranks of the KPE was rapid. In 1945 alone communist party membership tripled. The social base of the party's growth was continually broadened. In the first years after Estonia's liberation from the German

Fascist occupiers the growth of party organizations was mainly due to demobilized communists and candidate party members returning from other union republics. Later on, party ranks were replenished by the best representatives of local workers, peasants and intellectuals.

During this period women made up more than a fourth of those admitted to the party, and in some years, a third. The number of women in the KPE grew 1.4 times faster than the total membership of the republic's party organization. During all the postwar years the percentage of women in the KPE was higher than the average all-party percentage, which in 1957 were 27.9 and 19.7, respectively (see pp. 79 and 110).

The social base under the conditions of developed socialism has considerably aided the party's numerical growth. From 1959 to 1980 the republic's party organization increased by a factor of 3.2. The growth in the educational level of new members has created conditions for improvement in the party's qualitative makeup. Where in 1959 46.4 percent of candidate party members had a secondary or higher education, in 1980 91.2 percent of them did (see pp. 143-144).

The republic's party organization has many party veterans who joined before the revolution and in the period of underground struggle under the conditions of the bourgeois dictatorship. As of 1 January 1959 there were 13 party members who had joined prior to October /1917/, and 61 who had been members since 1917 (see p. 149).

The party's makeup has an international flavor. As of 1981 the KPE was made up of 69 nationalities. The majority were Estonians, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and Finns (see p. 182).

Several tables show the development of the party educational system in the republic. One can follow the rapid growth in the number of students in various types of party education (see pp. 228, 240 and 244).

It should also be noted that there are well-written historical surveys for the book's sections and chapters. The reader is thus enabled to more fully appreciate the statistical material coming at him from all sides, and to follow the course of development of the republic's communist party. The reader discovers in this digest proof that Estonia's social-democratic organizations were from their very beginning an integral part of the RSDRP as one of its local organizations.

Of definite interest are the maps showing the party organizations of Estonian Bolsheviks on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution and of the socialist revolution of 1940, their numerical and national makeup and the occupations of communists (see pp. 23 and 41). The tables on the organizational structure of the Estonian Communist Party, together with the maps, clearly show the times and places that KPE congresses and conferences were held in the period from 1920 to 1940, with their agendas, and

the times and places of party activists' meetings and conferences. This information is considerably amplified by data on the Estonian Komsomol (number of organizations and their makeup, komsomol congresses, etc.).

Of great interest are the photocopies of party cards of the Estonian Communist Party from the bourgeois period, fragments of its program (for 1920), and the mandates of delegates to the Second KPE Congress and to the Third Comintern Congress.

The materials in the digest are undoubtedly of great scholarly and practical importance. They reflect the process of quantitative and qualitative changes in the republic's party organization throughout its entire history.

While noting the value of the book under review, it must be said that the compilers have not escaped without fault. Some important positions are either not brought out or not sufficiently covered in the digest. In particular, the structure of the primary party organizations is not well shown or discussed. Diagram No. 8 on p. 236 is not accompanied with a commentary. The trend that it shows of record growth in the number of communists of the indigenous nationality could be misunderstood without an explanation of the circumstances.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize once more that the digest under review is a remarkable addition to the literature of the social sciences. It will undoubtedly attract the attention of scholars and practical workers in the field of party construction.

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REGIONAL

SIBERIANS FEAR RIVER DIVERSION COULD DESTROY IRTYSH

[Editorial Report] Moscow OKTYABR' in Russian No 12, December 1984 publishes on pages 173-185 a 9,000-word article entitled "We Live on the River" by Vladimir Cheshegorov. Cheshegorov offers a detailed survey of the extensive damage already done to the Irtysh by water projects such as the Karaganda Canal and the Bukhtarminskaya Hydroelectric Station. While acknowledging the urgent need for water in the south, he warns that the Irtysh is already so depleted that diverting more of its flow to Central Asia might destroy it.

Cheshegorov's article chronicles a trip he took along the entire length of the river from its source at Lake Zaysan to Khanty Mansiysk, where the Ob' and Irtysh diverge. Along the way he listens to people as they describe the environmental damage that has taken place over the years as the river has been exploited by industry and agriculture. Those who live on the river feel that their needs have been forgotten. Cheshegorov shares their sorrow and frustration. He describes the ruin of the region's fisheries and the migration of villagers away from flood plains that no longer support their farms. He remembers when the exploitation of the Tyumen oil fields first brought changes to the river, "catching sight of a self-propelled tanker creeping with difficulty against the current, we shook our fists at it. We knew what kind of 'black gold' it was bringing us in its hold. This 'gold' glistened later in oily spots on the water and along the shore. Every time we went swimming we crawled out of the water spotted like giraffes. It took a long time to scrape the oil tablets off with sand. Even the most thoughtless of us in those days knew that we had to cut off the gills of a fish immediately after it was caught."

Cheshegorov believes that the entire river is now threatened, beginning at its very source. He quotes an old man who lives on Lake Zaysan, which has suffered from intensive water use in eastern Kazakhstan, "the lake is ill. Terribly ill. There is no snow at all in the mountains, the streams do not flow into the lake. The water has receded 4 meters. It makes me sick to look at it." Cheshegorov finds the situation downstream just as bad:

"Beginning at Omsk and going downriver, literally every 3 to 5 kilometers one's eye falls on sluice gates. Pumping stations suck water out of the Irtysh with large steel trunks to supply cities and villages; irrigation systems also cling to the river ... along the path of the motor ship it is impossible to count all of the large and small sluice gates on the main channel, the tributaries and the streams. And even without them the Irtysh is not abundant in this region: after all, beginning at Omsk and going upstream there are no significant tributaries for 1,300 kilometers."

This section of the river flows through the dry steppe where it splits into numerous channels and loses even more water. The river will be further strained by the massive increase in irrigated acreage called for in the October 1984 CPSU resolution on land reclamation.

Hydroelectric stations comprise another serious threat to the river. According to Cheshegorov "the summer that construction began on the Bukhtarminskaya Hydroelectric Station our river, the Bolshaya, a tributary of the Irtysh, was taken away from us ... the river grew so shallow that only the mud in the river bed kept us from fording it." Cheshegorov describes other consequences of damming the river:

"In the years after the completion of the Bukhtarminskaya Hydroelectric Station the losses from the shortfall of forage crops from flood plains in the Omsk Oblast alone came to more than 350 million rubles. During this time a fourth of the flood plain increased so much in salinity that the topsoil was ruined ... the supply of fish was depleted, wildfowl disappeared, the ability of the river to clean itself was sharply decreased."

Cheshegorov visits the Bukhtarminskaya Station and talks to the workers. He is appalled by their mercenary attitude towards the river. He describes the opinion of a young worker who believes that "if the energy of the entire Irtysh were to be converted to kilowatt hours, and these, in turn, would all go into production, then the profits would be so great that there would be enough money to build a second Irtysh." Questioning the young man further, he discovers that most of the workers at the hydroelectric station keep boats on the reservoir, where there are "excellent sites, beautiful shores, many fish." This is in stark contrast to the scene downstream. Cheshegorov berates the worker, "You have created a heavenly corner for yourselves, but below your dam there is hardly a trickle of water." Cheshegorov asks, "Is it worth it then to be concerned that (the Irtysh) is growing shallow, when it would be much more simple in light of our technical capabilities to break it up into a few sections with dams and admire our 'artificial seas?' No, this is not the fruit of an inflamed imagination. Something similar already exists in plans." He continues bitterly, "But how is it possible to cut something living into parts and admire these stump parts, how can there still be a glimmer of life in them?"

In light of the present state of the river, Cheshegorov is alarmed by Central Asia's growing demand for water. He asks:

"Are we doing the right thing by overworking such a depleted river? Should we then be surprised that the Irtysh grows noticeably shallower each year? ... And the Irtysh-Karaganda Canal with its planning estimate of up to a 76 cubic meter outflow of water per second is already built. Now the canal will lead further to Dzhezkazgan, and, naturally, its capacity will increase. But this is not all: they are working out plans to divert part of the flow of the Siberian rivers to the south. And this will effect the Irtysh. In the region where it discharges into the Ob' they plan to take 25 cubic kilometers of water for the first phase of the

diversion, and for the second--up to 60. But to this enormous figure one must unfortunately continue to add more and more, because the use of water for the industrial and everyday needs of cities and villages near the Irtysh will grow; nearby sovkhozes will also expand their network of irrigation systems; and, besides that, water is needed to fill the reservoir of the Shul'binskaya Hydroelectric Station already under construction. In this event, what will remain of the Irtysh itself?"

Cheshegorov admits that water is desperately needed in the south, but he defends the rights of those who live along the river and love it, "the Irtysh has as much significance for the Siberian as it does for the southerner."

Cheshegorov finds no easy answers to resolve the conflict between the demands of the economy and the environment. He discusses the problem with land reclamation engineer Fedor Ivanovich Shilyayev:

Shilyayev admits problems, but believes hydrotechnical projects must be built anyway, "After all, scientists, like all mortals, learn from their mistakes. But are these always mistakes? Doing something for the first time, it is difficult to guess all of the consequences that will occur many years in the future. On the other hand, are we always ready to renounce our intentions, even if we know about the negative consequences? No, without submerging flood plains we cannot build hydroelectric stations. The flooding is a negative consequence. So what do we choose? The hydroelectric station."

Cheshegorov replies, "That's true, but each year the choice engenders more heated debate."

"Yes, that is so. A reappraisal of our values is going on. Now scientists are more concerned with ecological problems, and this is good news. Before, when the engineering mentality predominated we were delighted with projects to subjugate nature. When these projects are carried out they are truly impressive. You yourself have seen the Bukhtarminskaya Hydroelectric Station and the Karaganda Canal. But voices are ringing out ever more insistently, saying that in building them we are at the same time harming nature, the earth where we live. I read in LITERATURKA* how sharply Candidate of Economic Sciences Peredentsev quarreled with Gerardi, the main engineer of the project to divert Siberian rivers to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. "To be perfectly honest," Fedor Ivanovich said, in what seemed to me an almost guilty voice, "in spirit I'm on Perevedentsev's side."

* LITERATURNAYA GAZETA

"Why only in spirit?" I said, not quite understanding.

"Because," Fedor Ivanovich continued, "as an engineer Gerardi's position is understandable to me. An important task has been put before his collective, one important to the country and interesting for an engineer.... (But), the so-called conqueror of nature and her defender are coming out as opposing forces, the arguments between them are growing sharper and more heated. But this is good: in the argument the truth will come out."

Shilyayev goes on to describe progress in creating hydrotechnical systems which will use less water; for example, overhead mist irrigation systems and low pressure dams which would cause less damage to flood plains. However, he concludes, "I must be honest: the former glory of the powerful river will not return now, but the water level of the Irtysh might be raised."

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REGIONAL

SNAGS IN INCREASING UZBEK LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 12, December 1984 carries on pages 19-25 a 3,000-word article by V. Chervov, sector chief for wages and production work in the Uzbek Council of Labor Unions and candidate of economic sciences, titled "Labor Discipline and Improving the Economic Mechanism." Chervov notes that the republic's ministries and departments are implementing a series of measures to strengthen the system of production quotas. The percent of technically based norms in industry has been raised to 76, for example. Still, work in this area does not yet meet the requirements for ensuring growth in labor productivity. The practice of planning the wage fund on the basis of achieved levels does not stimulate economic interest in lowering the labor intensiveness of production. Norms are increasingly being used to regulate wages without considering the actual contribution of the worker, which has produced a significant discrepancy between the level of productivity and output norms, according to Chervov. Over the last 3 years in the republic there has been a 2.2 percent rate of overfulfilling the plan for labor productivity, while piece-workers have overfulfilled the plan for output norms at a rate of 24 percent. "As we see, growth in output norms does not help in increasing labor productivity."

Chervov comments on the effect of not updating norms. Enterprises of the coal, ferrous metallurgy, and construction materials industries show a particularly high proportion of unfulfilled norms, while at the same time one producer in five overfulfills them at a rate of 150 percent and higher owing to dated norms. Meanwhile labor union organs have actually weakened their attention to updating norms. They do not fully use material stimulation for switching to technically based norms or for encouraging plan fulfillment using fewer laborers. Introduction of new technology often does not result in updating old norms.

The brigade form of labor, which involved 57.4 percent of republic industry workers at the beginning of 1984, has helped the republic increase production volume by 5.1 percent over 1982. In 1983, 45 percent of the brigades in construction were working on contract, and they performed more than half the volume of all construction and installation work. Total length of construction time for living space was reduced by 5.1 percent and its cost was reduced by 1.3 percent. At the same time, says Chervov, wages grew faster than productivity. In 1982-83 the output of a single worker grew from 18,894 rubles to 18,908 (or the 1983 figure was 100.1 percent of the 1982 one). Meanwhile,

the average monthly wage, 253 and 258 rubles respectively for the two years, grew at a comparison rate of 102.1 percent. Thus wages outstripped productivity by 2 percent. In the ministries of construction and installation, and special construction work of the republic, wages outstripped productivity by 5.3 to 10.7 percent.

Chervov observes that most violations of labor discipline occur among workers doing subsidiary jobs, where the rate of manual, unmechanized labor is over twice as high as in the basic professions. In spite of this only 20 percent of the resources expended to mechanize manual labor goes to the subsidiary production area.

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ARTICLES VIEW DESERTIFICATION, WATER USE IN TURKMEN SSR

[Editorial Report] Ashkabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 12 December 1984 carries on page 3 a 1,000-word book review entitled "A New Book on Desertification." Candidate of Geographic Sciences A. Batyrov reviews "Desertification: Battle Strategies" by I. S. Zon and N. S. Orlov, scientists of the Institute of Deserts of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences. Zon and Orlov have compiled data from the 1977 UN conference on problems of desertification as well as research done in the Soviet Union and abroad. The book examines international cooperation in combatting desertification and "emphasizes that desertification is not only a scientific technical problem, but, fundamentally, a social-economic and political problem." Zon and Orlov also discuss the allocation of water resources for energy and agriculture in the Soviet Union. They use the example of the Karakum Canal to examine implications of the territorial redistribution of water under desert conditions. According to reviewer Batyrov, this research is especially important now, when planning work is being done on "the world's largest hydrotechnical project," the proposed diversion of water from Siberian rivers into Central Asia.

On 20 November TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA carries a 200-word unattributed Turkmeninform report entitled "A Prognosis of 'Health' for the Desert." The article describes a long-term study being conducted by the Institute of Deserts of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences. Scientists are attempting to forecast the environmental effects of irrigation on the Karakum desert. Along with soil and climate studies, photos taken from space have been used to predict the future progress of desertification.

The 7 December 1984 issue of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA carries on page 2 a 1,000-word article entitled "A Firm Foundation for Agriculture" by A. Khodzhamuradov, the Turkmen minister of land reclamation and water management. Khodzhamuradov outlines the progress of irrigation and land improvement projects already under construction, applauding the benefits that will result from the Karakum and Tashauz Canals. He emphasizes the need for the even more extensive programs outlined in the October 1984 CPSU resolution on land reclamation which calls for 1.42 million hectares of irrigated land and a 59,300 km drainage collector network in the republic by 1991.

Khodzhamuradov continues, "The land reclamation and agricultural workers are pinning great hopes on the construction of a unified trans-Turkmen runoff collector for the entire republic. We would gain much from its construction.

It would stop the runoff of mineralized waters into the Amu Darya and onto pastureland. A more economically acceptable variant would be to direct drainage waters into the Uzba, the old channel of the Amu Darya, along which the river once carried water to the Caspian."

On 11 January TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA publishes an article entitled "To More Fully Utilize Natural Resources" by N. Lalymenko, director of the Nebit-Dag agricultural, forestry and land reclamation station of the Institute of Deserts of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences. Lalymenko describes efforts to assess and develop the agricultural potential of the Nebit-Dag rayon of western Turkmenistan. He believes that with irrigation the Nebit-Dag could be a valuable producer of forage crops. He advocates full use of water resources already available in the area. According to Lalymenko, subsidiary farms attached to industrial enterprises could make use of purified waste waters. Lalymenko claims that mineralized ground waters can be a valuable resource for agriculture. He cites research done in the Karagidzhakskiy Rayon in which such water was successfully used to irrigate certain varieties of forage crops. According to Lalymenko, "These facts are extremely convincing. I can add that in many countries they have used even more mineralized (even sea) waters for the cultivation of forage, vegetable and melon crops." Lalymenko also cites experiments with collecting and storing rain water.

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REGIONAL

UZBEK KOMSOMOL FIRST SECRETARY ON REPUBLIC PROBLEMS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 12, December 1984 carries on pages 26-33 a 3,500-word article by First Secretary of the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee B. Allamuradov titled "Communist Upbringing of Youth - the Komsomol's Most Important Matter." Most of the article is devoted to recommendations for improvement in work with Uzbekistan's young people.

Allamuradov observes that Uzbekistan is a republic of the young. In industry and construction every other worker is a youth or a young woman. In cotton growing, light industry, and corn growing as well as in the sphere of services this figure is two out of three. The conclusion from this is that much of the republic's economic performance depends on young people.

The Uzbek Komsomol, says Allamuradov, needs to devote more attention to stirring healthy, strapping young people out of their torpor or separating them from their indulgent parents. "Many students decline work in student construction detachments using various pretexts or parental connections. In Nukus State University, for example, during the period from 1981-1984 52 students, for the most part children of management workers, shirked from working together with their peers." At a time when religious figures are more and more actively courting the hearts of young people, says the author, some Komsomol committees are in the position of outside observers in the battle with religion. In spite of measures to combat criminal activity among youth, this activity has not decreased. In the Komsomol it was, in fact, growing. Allamuradov ascribes this to slackening attention to organizing leisure time. Nothing has been done, he says, about the idea of creating sports and cultural complexes. This vacuum is easily filled by a preoccupation among youth with elements of bourgeois culture. Likewise, the recent increase in bourgeois propaganda aimed at fanning religious and nationalistic feelings must not be ignored.

Contacts between republic Komsomol organizations and the military units of the Turkestan Military District are strengthening. This year 656 youths from the republic entered the country's higher military academies. Moreover, since the beginning of the current five-year plan 23,000 young men and women have joined their fates with Komsomol shock worker projects, including 8,000 who left Uzbekistan to do so. The republic's 95,000 young communists, says Allamuradov, form the nucleus of our party's program for future successes.

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KASSR POWER, ELECTRIFICATION MINISTRY COLLEGIUM MEETS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 15 February 1985 carries on page 2 a 200-word KazTAG report on the 14 February expanded session of the KaSSR Ministry of Power and Electrification Collegium, which discussed the results for 1984 and the measures being taken to fulfill the plan for 1985. V.T. Kazachkov, KaSSR Minister of Power and Electrification, and others noted that the plan for 1984 was fulfilled for the distribution of thermal energy, the volume of output disposed of, and for profit. New power transmission lines and the final, eighth energy block of the Ekibastuz GRES-1 have been introduced. The construction of other stations of the Ekibastuz complex, the Shchul'binsk GES, and lines for ultra long-range transmissions is continuing. However, some shortcomings still remain, as for example, the production of electrical energy was not fulfilled last year. A number of measures to improve production and workers discipline were developed. K.T. Turysov, secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, spoke at the session.

PUBLIC CENSURE ENDORSED AS MEANS TO COMBAT ALCOHOLISM

[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 29 January 1985 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word article by RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA correspondent L. Pastushenko entitled "Lost Conscience." Pastushenko reports from the village of Uladiivka in Vinnitsa Oblast on a village meeting which was convened to deal with chronic alcoholics. In a village of 5,725, the author finds, "dozens are alcoholics, and every fifth one of these doesn't work!" The meeting, conducted by Vinnitsa Oblast procurator I. D. Temchenko, sought to deal with this widespread problem by interrogating and publicly censuring many of the offenders and concluded by ordering "the most hardened drunkards" to undergo compulsory treatment for alcoholism. A commentary by Temchenko follows in which he cites good results in villages and enterprises which have held this type of meeting and endorses widespread adoption of such tactics.

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REGIONAL

UZBEKS HAVE 4.2 BILLION RUBLES IN SAVINGS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVETSKIY UZBEKISTAN in Russian No 1, January 1985 carries on page 9 a 300-word article titled "Advantageous for Each and Every Person" which gives the information that the republic of Uzbekistan has 2,600 workers' savings banks used by 4 million depositors whose savings amount to 4.2 billion rubles as of the end of 1984. The number of deposits has doubled in the past 14 years. This information was supplied to the editors of SOVETSKIY UZBEKISTAN by Dilarom Sharipova, chair of the republic administration of the USSR State Workers' Savings Bank.

UZBEK 'ASKIYA', VERBAL DUELING, A DEVELOPED FOLK ART

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVETSKIY UZBEKISTAN in Russian No 1, January 1985 carries on pages 10, 11 an illustrated 600-word article by journalist Shoim Butayev titled "The Strength of 'Askiya' is in Laughter." The article describes a regional form of the verbal dueling found in many Turkic-speaking cultures, the Uzbek contest known as "askiya." The askiya, a popular spectator sport, has formal rules involving a theme which is announced ahead of time, a jury, and participants, often known throughout the oblast for their quick wit, who are judged on speed of response to difficult questions, as well as the clarity and aptness of their answers. This sort of wit matching has a tradition of centuries and achieved a peak in the 15th Century, the time of the famous askiyachi Abdulvase Munshi. It was also widespread in the Fergana Valley and Tashkent in the 18th and 19th centuries, according to Butayev. Folklorists have recorded and studied the devices of the best-known practitioners. Butayev regrets only that the real art of askiya is so closely bound to nuances and linguistic subtleties that it is virtually impossible to translate its entire effect into other languages.

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UZBEK CP CC MEETING DISCUSSES CONSUMER GOODS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 December 1984 carries on page 1 a 200-word UzTAG report titled "Filling the Workers' Needs More Fully" announcing the 17 December session of the Uzbek CP Central Committee which discussed problems of improving trade, domestic services, the fulfillment of the plan for commerce and increasing the production of consumer goods. Participants in the session were: secretaries of oblast party committees and of the Tashkent gorkom; deputy chairmen of the Karakalpak Council of Ministers, oblast executive committees, and the Tashkent Gorispolkom; department and ministry leaders. Reports were read by Uzbek CP Central Committee Second Secretary T.N. Osetrov, first deputy chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers V.K. Mikhaylov, and secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee I.G. Anisimkin. It was noted that the measures outlined at the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee were not being carried out with sufficient energy and that the negative phenomena which were revealed in the sphere of trade and domestic services were being eliminated too slowly. The need for significant improvement in organizing trade, domestic services and consumer-goods production was emphasized.

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REGIONAL

BRIEFS

ASHKHABAD PARTY AKTIV--In Ashkabad today a meeting of a republican party aktiv is being held. Its participants are examining the tasks of the republican party organization arising from the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the work of the party organization in the Turkmen SSR in fulfilling the decision of the party's Central Committee on intensifying atheistic education. Comrade Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmen SSR CP Central Committee, delivered a report at the meeting of the aktiv. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Feb 85 LD]

NEW KIRGHIZ TOWNS--Three new towns were established in Kirghizia. The settlement of Kant is upgraded to urban status. Two other towns were established in the Chu Valley--(Aksu) and (Sopokha). The latter is named after one of the 28 Panfilov heroes. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0004 GMT 27 Feb 85 LD]

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